

# The Hispanic American Historical Review

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## EDITORIAL NOTE

The latest number of THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW before this present issue was that of November, 1922, this completing its fifth volume. The REVIEW was planned not as a financial venture but solely to meet the needs of teachers and students of Hispanic American history and all others interested in that field. Appealing, as it did, to a limited but growing class, the REVIEW could not have survived a single year had it not been for financial aid given by several good friends, chief among whom was Mr. Juan C. Cebrián, of San Francisco. When, by force of circumstances quite beyond control, that financial aid was withdrawn, cessation of publication became the only course. That this periodical was meeting an important need is evidenced by the fact that it ended the period of its first five years with an abundance of unpublished articles on hand. During the interim since November, 1922, many expressions of regret have been received by the editors because of the discontinuance of the REVIEW, as well as inquiries as to the outlook for a renewal of its activities.

The editors were confident that the cessation of publication was only temporary. Since 1922 many efforts were made to interest some person or institution in continuing the REVIEW, but all attempts were unsuccessful until an opportunity was

offered to bring the matter to the attention of the proper authorities of Duke University, of Durham, North Carolina. That institution, which had already adopted a comprehensive plan for the publication of scholarly materials, after considering the purposes of the REVIEW and the need for it, consented to continue its publication. This has now been done, and in this, the first number since November, 1922, the REVIEW goes once more to its readers, under happy auspices and with increased opportunities for service.

There will be no new series to vex librarians and bibliographers. The last issue was Volume V., No. 4. In order to keep the volume numbers consecutive in every way, and mindful that this number is issued in August instead of in February, this issue is Volume VI., Nos. 1-3. Volume VII. will, therefore, commence in February, 1927.

The old organization of the REVIEW is continued, with two innovations. The first is that Duke University has a permanent representative on the editorial staff, who is the associate managing editor. We are happy to announce that this post is held by Professor J. Fred Rippy, late of the University of Chicago, now of Duke University. Dr. Rippy brings to Duke University ripe scholarship and rare teaching ability, and to this REVIEW added prestige and opportunity. The second innovation is that of associate editors for the various Hispanic American countries, Spain, and Portugal. As this issue goes to press, associate editors have been elected for Brazil, Central America, Colombia, Cuba, Mexico, and Venezuela. As heretofore, the position of managing editor is permanent and is held by Dr. James A. Robertson who has functioned in that capacity from the beginning. With the exception of managing and associate managing editors and associate editors representing other countries, editors are elected for periods of five years, so arranged that one editor retires each year, thus giving place to one new member on the board. With this issue, accordingly, a new name, in addition to that of Pro-



fessor Rippy, is found among the members of the board of editors on the front cover; namely, that of Dr. Arthur Scott Aiton, of the University of Michigan. To Dr. William R. Manning, the retiring editor, his colleagues express their appreciation for his helpfulness and courtesy. In addition to serving as editor, Dr. Manning acted also in the capacity of trustee and treasurer. All business connected with the REVIEW is now transferred, however, to Duke University Press. The four advisory editors, on whom so much of the success of this REVIEW must depend, have signified their willingness to continue in that capacity. Mr. C. K. Jones, acting chief classifier of the Library of Congress, continues as bibliographer.

The policy of the REVIEW is continued. As heretofore, its field is the history (political, economic, social, and diplomatic, as well as narrative) and institutions of those countries and regions of the Americas formerly belonging to Spain (including certain parts of the United States and the Philippine Islands, considered with respect to their Spanish connections) and Portugal, and the motherlands of Spain and Portugal (in general as related to their colonies or their diplomatic relations with their former colonies). As heretofore, articles will be published in the language in which they are written, but if in a language other than English, translations into English will also appear. Considerable attention will still be devoted to bibliography; indeed, the Bibliographical Section will have at least equal importance with the section devoted to articles. Mr. C. K. Jones continues his contributions on "Hispanic American Bibliographies", the first continuation appearing in this number. Gradually, the important books and articles dealing with Hispanic America which have appeared since 1922 will be listed so that scholars may have those titles within easy reach.

The HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW is devoted to no "ism" and is the organ of no special section or group. It

is hoped, however, that it will become increasingly an agent in the drawing together of the intellectual forces of all the Americas. With controversies it has nothing to do. To the best of its ability—and the aid of all persons interested in the Hispanic countries is invoked thereto—the REVIEW aspires to be of service to the greatest number possible throughout the Americas.

THE EDITORS.



## THE ARCHIVES OF THE INDIES AT SEVILLE

[Dedicated to J. T. C.]

[Note: It has not been the policy of the REVIEW to publish metrical matter. However, the short contribution by Miss Wright that is given below is so true to the spirit of the Archivo General de Indias and expresses so well the vast sweep of the documents there conserved that it is thought no apology other than this statement is necessary.—Ed.]

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### EL ARCHIVO GENERAL DE INDIAS

These are the Archives of the Indies!  
Here—in these tall cases, built from marble floor  
Toward domed, arched ceiling—  
Here are stored, in blue-wrapped bundles, pack on pack,  
The papers passed between old Spain and her far colonies.  
These are the records of their government  
From days when they were conquered, one by one,  
Until those other, bitter days when, one by one,  
In revolution they wrote “Finis” at the close  
Of these colonial records.

These are the Archives of the Indies!

### PATRONATO. DESCUBRIMIENTOS, DESCRIPCIONES . . .

Here are the records of discovery . . .  
Out of the waters rise two continents and countless isles,  
Taking slow shape through tales of strange adventurings.  
Here gleam the phantom walls of Cibola,  
And here, the Gilded Man who never was.  
Yonder flows on without restraint Juan Ponce’s spring of  
youth.

Here fancy finds a northwest passage through  
To mines, spice isles, and monstrous mysteries.

These are the Archives of the enchanted lands  
That lay beyond the Ocean Sea of prose reality.

FLOTAS Y ARMADAS.

Fleets and Armadas . . .

Here—within these packs of yellowed papers,  
Written neat, or scrawled “Off Cape Saint Vincent” as she  
rolled

On surges that have broken since upon the shores of bleak  
eternity,

Or done in the trim numerals of a cipher used—

Here are confined in this small space

The winds that swept the Spanish main, the broad South  
Sea—

The winds that blew from Cadiz to the Philippines

Through four long centuries!

Here never set the suns that shone,

The moons that shimmered white

Among the islets of the Caribbes.

Here howls the fierce typhoon—

The hurricane roars hoarse through chartless channels,

Thundering south, from Jacan to the Name of God,

A-shriek amid the cordage of lost galleons, ballasted with gold

And emeralds, pearls and dyewood from

Peru and Margarite and Mexico.

“May God be pleased to bring them safe to port

As your Majesty desires and Christendom hath need!”

Candles and prayers at vanished altars spent for goods and  
men

Rocked in the bottom of Old Ocean

Lo! These past four hundred years!



Here—the voice of guns!  
 Hawkins' and Drake's and doughty Baskerville's!  
 Pater's and Heyn's!  
 With Don Fadrique and a host  
 Of captains-general, admirals, and crews,  
 Avellaneda and that bold, fanatic, honest Astur, who  
 Slit Ribaut's throat in Florida: Pedro Menéndez!  
 How they sail yet upon this troubled sea  
 Of finite History!  
 How brave they sail!  
 How brave they sail through these old papers here preserved!  
 These are the Archives of the Indies! These!

AUDIENCIA DE SANTO DOMINGO. FLORIDA Y LUISIANA.

Letters of Governors, Accountants, Priests,  
 Of Captains, Indian Chieftains, Wives!  
 Who reads these records through sees north to Canada—  
 That "Frozen Land"—and finds Marquette, canoeing south  
 On mighty waters of an unknown stream.  
 Port Royal, Charleston, Jamestown, Augustine—  
 Here their beginnings told.  
 Half hid in sand, there lies  
 The wreck of La Salle's ship.  
 Who reads, hears arrows whistle, feels the whir  
 Of good Toledo steel; sees Indians skulk,  
 Creeping at dawn to storm the palisades  
 Of unremembered posts on river routes and shores:  
 "My Governor, send help! We are surrounded,  
 Our munitions gone. Send help."—  
 Sweated and torn, it lay against the heart  
 Of a bold friar, acting courier—  
 A scrap of paper here, that cry  
 Rings down the centuries: "Send help! Send help!"  
 These are the Archives of the Indies. This,  
 The earliest history of your Florida.

## AUDIENCIA DE MEXICO, SANTA FE, ETC.

Look South!

How pale against the dawning sixteenth century arise  
The sacrificial smoke wreaths o'er those piles  
Of Aztec shrines and Inca palaces!  
See yonder west coast sweeping on  
From Darien to the Horn,  
The flames around the funeral pyre of martyr-missionaries  
    sink  
To glow of furnaces at copper mines.  
Amid the jungle see those clearings spread—cane and tobacco,  
Bait for pirate ships!  
On plains above the coastal fringe  
Horned cattle graze, and sheep.  
Two continents and countless, nameless isles  
In fabled seas.  
That acrid smoke . . . borne from the guns, I think,  
That Dewey fired . . . Sampson and Schley, at Santiago.  
    These are the Archives of the Indies! These—  
Ashes of empire!  
Worthless! Bale on bale!  
So much old paper—tied with dirty string!

IRENE A. WRIGHT.

Seville.



## A REMINISCENCE OF SIMANCAS

On the crest of a hill along the highway from Valladolid to Tordesillas rises the grim old castle of Simancas, a mighty treasure-house of records of the bygone days of Spain. Everywhere it is girt about with historical recollections. Seven miles away lies Valladolid, the capital of Old Castile and, till late in the sixteenth century, the capital of all Spain as well. Here one may still see the workroom in which that laborious monarch, Philip II., composed annotations in his crabbed hand upon many a state paper, and the window from which his gaze might rest a moment upon the busy crowds below. Thirteen miles in the other direction is Tordesillas, where Spain and Portugal agreed to divide between them the unknown world. About Tordesillas, also, clings the romantic memory of that unhappy queen, Juana la Loca, whom jealousy for her handsome Austrian husband drove to deeds of madness and despair. Thirty-seven miles still farther on is Salamanca, the seat of the university of medieval renown, and the place where learned men once discussed the possibility of a western route to the Indies.

The hamlet from which the castle takes its name harks back to Roman times. As Septimancia it was a *mansio* or post-station for soldiers and travelers on the road from Emerita (Mérida) to Caesaraugusta (Saragossa). Fanciful tradition, however, would assign the origin of the name to an incident of many centuries later when Simancas was a stronghold that guarded the frontiers of León and Old Castile against the invading Moors. To save themselves from becoming prey of the infidels, seven maidens, so the story goes, cut off their left hands, smeared their faces with the blood, and took on thereby so horrible an appearance that they were left unharmed. In

commemoration of this "honest and Christian" deed the town thereafter was called *Septem Mancas* or the "Seven Maimed Ones", displaying upon its coat of arms a tower surmounted by a star and encircled by seven severed hands.

Forlorn and neglected through the course of centuries, Simancas became the abode of a few hundred vine-dressers and herdsmen, whose lot in life is a round of toilsome poverty. Here and there a heap of stones reveals traces of a wall, and over a crumbling doorway or two may be found dilapidated escutcheons that recall the knightly struggle of the crescent and the cross. Were it not for the many millions of documents stored within the castle, Simancas might have been suffered to slumber undisturbed among its relics and its wretchedness. Even today, when conditions have undergone improvement upon those prevailing at the time the place was visited by the writer, few are the searchers for the sources of Hispanic history who would venture upon a sojourn in what the Spaniards themselves describe as the "terror of archivists, a purgatory on earth but without the hope of salvation".

Since the nearest railway station is Valladolid, this had to be the starting-point of the journey to Simancas. The best train out of Madrid arrived about three o'clock in the morning. Since the hotels in Valladolid were not open at such an hour and a waiting-room at the station did not exist, pedestrian exercise up and down the platform was in order until daylight dawned. When people became once more astir I sought a mode of conveyance. It was offered me in the shape of a *tartana*, a cart resembling the old time "prairie schooner" and drawn by four mules hitched tandem-fashion, so that the foremost mule is nearly at the end of the block when the cart itself is passing the initial corner. As the vehicle seemed more suited to the transportation of merchandise than of human beings, I next considered the availability of a diminutive cross between a stagecoach and a diligence which, I was told, left from a more or less indeterminate spot in the town



some time in the afternoon. The uncertainty of the schedule and the fact that passengers were expected to fold themselves into spaces of exceeding narrowness made the adoption of a third and last expedient imperative. This took the form of a *tilbury* or rickety jaunting-car, jerked in appropriate manner by a small horse attached to long traces which enabled him to display at times a disconcerting tendency to disappear under the body of the wagon. Sundry other contortions also, favored by the irregularities in a highway of holes and hillocks produced a series of upheavals and downfalls as conducive to digestion as they were destructive of a normal appreciation of the landscape.

Just outside of Valladolid the scenery was made to lose its kaleidoscopic character long enough to provide the driver with spirituous consolation for the miles of commotion to follow. This he acquired at a convenient tavern low of roof and unpretentious of design, immediately opposite a huge building of sombre mien. Over the doorway of the former ran a sign that read: "You are better off here than across the way". Inquiring what this warning meant, I was told that "across the way" was a lunatic asylum! Thereupon the driver pointed to another sign just below the first one, but not so conspicuous. It recorded the judgment of some ill-pleased patron, for in scrawling characters it read: "From here you pass across the way!" Though ominous, the humor showed how advisable it was to have one person at least in the *tilbury* who could distinguish the real from the unreal in a mode of transportation that gave promise of every variety of motion. If not well taken, I knew that the other specification of a patent medicine had been fulfilled when Simancas at length was reached.

On one side of the road at the outskirts of the hamlet the castle reared its massive walls, and on the other stood, gaunt and solitary, a roughly plastered hovel, two stories in height—the *parador* or "stopping-place", the sole hostelry of which Simancas boasted. Part of it served as a blacksmith's shop,

part as a tap-room, part as a cow-yard and the remainder as the habitation of the blacksmith-boniface and his family and the accommodations for guests. A first glance at the unprepossessing edifice conveyed the notion that it was designed chiefly for four-footed wayfarers, and a prolonged residence in it confirmed the impression. Scantily protected against the elements, the two or three bare and cheerless rooms on the second attic-like floor furnished all the creature discomforts of which a pessimist might dream. From October to April blustering icy winds swept through every chink and crevice; during the rest of the year a scorching sun beat mercilessly down through roof of broken tiles.

Kindly though my peasant hosts were, the fare that they set before me was of the simplest. Nor did the manner of its preparation add zest to make it savory. Meat was a rare article among the villagers of Simancas, and the pampered guest at the *parador* had to have it brought him by the mounted postman, whose donkey bore it suspended from a hook and innocent of wrappings all the way from Valladolid. Aside from *garbanzos*, or chick-peas, vegetables were scarcely more abundant than meat; but after the *garbanzos* had been tried and found wanting in every possible taste except that of cotton or shavings, the few weazened radishes, potatoes, and beans available were very welcome. For breakfast I was given a small cup of thick chocolate flavored with cinnamon, a glass of goat's milk suggestive of potash and chalk, and two thin slices of a heavy, saltless, yeastless bread smeared with garlic and fried in rancid olive oil. If the full time from eight to two during which the archives at the castle were open, was to be employed, this meal had to stay the stomach till about three, when dinner was served. The repast began with a cup of thin broth and was followed by two slices of beef, or rather cow (*carne de vaca*), of like tenuity, which had already done their duty in providing the broth. These edibles were supplemented by an egg or two, some lady-fingers and a half bottle



of a sour astringent native wine with a taste recalling the green persimmon that made anyone who essayed to eat it take his sustenance through a quill for the next twenty-four hours. Bread there was in plenty of the sort already described, though with the morning condiments happily omitted. Butter might be had if especially ordered from town, but as it was supplied in cans and bore internal evidence of remote antiquity it was never asked for a second time. Six hours later came supper, a combination meal consisting of the eggs and meat united, the usual bottle of wine, the bread and the lady-fingers. In the absence of human companions—for I dined alone—two cats and a dog attended me and eyed the mouthfuls with all the grudging watchfulness so characteristic of their kind. Only once did I intimate that a change of diet would be desirable; but as it appeared in the guise of codfish more ancient by far than the butter I concluded that *carne de vaca* had superior attractions despite the monotony.

The village itself, with its narrow, crooked, unpaved lanes, its rambling, unkempt, and half ruinous stucco and tile or straw-thatched houses was quite devoid of aught to interest or amuse by day. At night it was illumined only by the moon and stars. Not a thing could be bought in the place, for shops there were none. A postage stamp, a box of matches or a newspaper would have to be procured in Valladolid. When the six hours of work in the archives were over, one might seek such diversion as dusty roads, fields of scant vegetation, bare hill-tops and a muddy little river could afford. The sole relief from a monotony that weighed as heavily on the mind as the appalling sameness of the *parador* viands did on the body proceeded from the few social advantages which the poorly paid archivists were inclined to offer and from the willingness of the villagers to chat with the stranger. Indeed the village folk showed a friendlier attitude to me than they did toward their own countrymen, the functionaries of the castle. In their opinion the archivists were a sort of preten-

tious junkmen who rummaged about in useless old papers and who made the good people of Simancas pay taxes to support them. As such they were undesirable neighbors who should be allowed no share in local concerns; and excluded they accordingly were.

However tedious, and in a measure unpleasant, the life in Simancas, the castle and its treasures offered full compensation for all the discomforts. The very sight in fact of the old gray walls and towers and battlements, of the great stone causeways spanning a deep and grass-grown moat, recalled the strength and pride of Spain three centuries and more ago, when its gold and crimson banner floated over a domain on land and sea surpassing far the bounds of imperial Rome. And then the vision would change. The castle had faded into a venerable storehouse of paper memories, a renovated ruin set by the edge of a poor decrepit village symbolic of the Spain of later days, bereft of all its splendors, with all its glories vanished, returning like Sigismund to his cave, there to pass in chains the night of misery and pain.

Formerly a residence of the admirals of Castile and later a state-prison for offenders of high rank, in 1545 the castle was converted by Charles V. into a repository of public papers. Gloomy dungeons and a torture-chamber from the ceiling of which still hang grewsome hooks, and at the side of which near the heavily barred window sat the judge and notary who took evidence during the torment, contrast most curiously in thought with the pacific uses of a subsequent age. Altered throughout to accommodate the masses of records as they flowed in, the building was made to contain fifty or more rooms lined on every side with shelves, cases and closets into which upwards of thirty-three millions of documents are crowded, some neatly tied, boxed and ticketed, others heaped unceremoniously on the floor.

It was a revel in the records of the centuries that awaited my entrance into the quiet, spacious work-room of the castle,

its atmosphere heavy with the mustiness of old paper and parchment. Every great event in the romantic story of Spain's grandeur and decline, of the multifarious relations with Europe and the dominions beyond the seas, and not a few curious happenings besides, are pictured in the worn and crumbling manuscripts that crowd tower and dungeon, court and corridor, chest and closet, rack and shelf in every direction to which the eye may wander. Though the vast collection ranges back to the times of the reconquest from the Moors, its value centers mainly on the period when Spain was powerful among the nations, and on the later days when its rivals surged to the front and the Spanish flag went down forever on the continents of the New World.

Familiar as the story in its outlines is, it assumed a new interest, a new significance; it took on all the vigor and freshness and reality of characters that actually lived and breathed, as I gazed in fascination at the pageant moving onward through the very utterances of the men and women whose names and deeds are known in books, but whose thoughts and personalities are more or less obscured by the veil of another's description. What a joy, therefore, it was to see and to handle the original records themselves, to listen to the testimony at firsthand, to meet the makers of history as it were face to face!

Recounting the story, albeit in small part, will indicate in a measure how wondrously rich the treasures of Simancas are that cause all thoughts of what lies outside the castle to be lost in contemplation of what is gathered within its walls. Let the tale begin accordingly, with the marriage contract of Ferdinand and Isabella, joining in the persons of the youthful sovereigns the destinies of Aragon and Castile and laying the foundations of a united Spain. Forthwith they start to consolidate their rule. They gain control of the revenues and strength of the military orders of Santiago, Calatrava, Alcántara, and Montesa, renowned for their valorous deeds against



the infidel. The Holy Brotherhood, that confederation of Castilian cities, with its efficient *cuadrillas* of citizen police cleansing the highways of marauders, is made an agency of the crown. No less useful is a firmer grasp upon the regulations of the *mesta*, the staple industry of sheep-raising which owes its origin to the dowry of an English princess. The dread tribunal of the Inquisition inaugurates its sinister work, with all due heed to the tracing of the limpid genealogy, the pureness of blood, which must certify to freedom from the taint of heresy and schism. By the conquest of Granada the two monarchs destroy the last remnant of Moorish power in the peninsula; whereat, aroused to generous enthusiasm over so singular an evidence of divine approval, they hearken to the plea of an obscure Genoese sailor, that he may found a greater Spain to the westward. Convinced, also, that the final overthrow of the infidel enjoins the duty of fostering still more the Christian faith, they commit the fateful error of expelling the Jews.

Amid all their activities at home Ferdinand and Isabella yet find time to counsel that crack-brained youth, Charles the Eighth of France, ere he ventures upon a certain erratic campaign in Italy. One of their daughters they bestow upon an Austrian prince, and to this union a son is born who will rule in the seat of the Caesars. Another daughter becomes the bride of an English prince, only to suffer the shame and humiliation of a divorce that involves emperor and kings, pope and cardinals, and tears England from the papal rule. And after the virtuous Isabella has passed away, her astute husband, seeking in the Italian situation a chance to widen his domain and to justify anew his title of "Catholic Majesty", aids a warrior pope in a "Holy League" against another king of the realm beyond the Pyrenees.

A Flemish youth now becomes king of Spain. As Charles the Fifth he is vested with the title and insignia of an ancient imperialism, and receives besides from his conquering cap-

tains a real empire in a New World. Troublous indeed are the times of the monarch who first in history strives to reign supreme in Europe and beyond the seas, to attain in very fact the *plus ultra* of his motto. Contentions with the French rival who loses "all save honor" only to lose even that as well, struggles with pope and heretic and infidel, difficulties at home and perplexities abroad seem a fitting prelude indeed to the futile regulation of clocks and watches at San Jerónimo de Yuste. And yet the distracting cares of state do not prevent the emperor meanwhile from discussing fine arts with Titian, Leoni, and Berruguete, or mechanics with one Blasco de Garay, inventor of a plan to propel vessels in time of calm by means of paddle-wheels attached to their sides, and turned by great handles on the deck.

The sinister figure of Philip II. enters upon the scene and around him cluster countless memories of the fearsome days of which it could be said, "when Spain moves the world trembles". Unhappy Mary Tudor of England and unfortunate Mary Stuart of Scotland pour forth their complaints and woes. That erratic prince, Don Carlos, compels a luckless cobbler to eat the shoes that misfit the princely feet, and beholds the maiden of his choice wedded by a royal father, who has sought in vain the hand of virgin Elizabeth. Catholics of Ireland and Scotland beseech the champion of the Church to drive out their heretic queen and restore the ancient faith. Valiant John of Austria strikes down the crescent at Lepanto, and the mother of Cervantes begs aid to ransom her one-armed son from prison in Algiers. The Duke of Alva and William of Orange battle for mastery in the Netherlands. Portugal and its dominions are taken over to form a mighty realm in which the colonies of the world entire are united under the banner of Spain, creating thus a situation never known before or since, in which a single ruler is actually supreme on land and sea. Then Francis Drake and many another sea-dog from a fog-bound isle to the northward wreak

havoc with the Invincible Armada; disaster displaces grandeur, and the ruler of the Indies would fain discover solace in that architectural gridiron, the Escorial, grey and sombre edifice, half monastery, half palace, symbolic of the ashes upon which it arises and of the ashes into which the Spanish fabric of empire was eventually to fall.

Brilliant in arts and letters though the age of the later Hapsburgs may be, the prestige of Spain is humbled and its prosperity cast down. "After the manner of ditches art thou great, oh king," writes a bold pamphleteer, "the more one empties them the bigger they are." Intolerance drives forth the industrious Moriscoes. Matrimonial alliances, so advantageous a century before, are essayed only to result in failure or to bring dire consequences in their train. No less a personage than Peter Paul Rubens interests himself in a proposed marriage of Prince Charles of England with a Spanish infanta, but a princess of France is chosen instead. The Thirty Years' War ensues to Spain's discomfiture. Portugal and the Netherlands win their freedom. France assumes to act the mentor to its feeble neighbor. The wily Mazarin contrives to have Louis XIV. wed a Spanish infanta so that a Bourbon shall come to the throne of Spain. Partition treaties are made among the European powers that gather round an approaching spoil. Yet when the War of Spanish Succession has run its course and a French prince does indeed wear the crown of Spain, little has been lost even if an insolent Briton has planted his banner forever on the rock of Gibraltar.

Once more an able king rules in Spain. Charles III., an enlightened monarch in an enlightened age, gathers strong men about him and seeks to reëstablish his country's power. But he too falls under the spell of France. In fulfilment of a family compact a Gallic monkey tries to use the paw of a Spanish cat to draw a toothsome chestnut out of the European fire, and with injury to the cat. Havana and Manila yield to British arms and for their return Florida is exacted.



To atone for this privation Louisiana is bestowed upon unwilling Spain. Again the persuasive influence of France is felt. Spain joins France in a final effort at revenge while Great Britain is struggling with its rebellious colonies. Florida is then regained, and the Spanish empire becomes greater in bulk than ever before, to make the collapse that a few decades hence will bring all the more tremendous.

Among the men who help to guide the destinies of Spain in these later days of momentary revival none claims so much attention as that rakish old statesman, Pedro Pablo Abarca de Bolea, the Count of Aranda. For whatever he lacks in physical attractiveness his gifts of mind afford full compensation. Cross-eyed and bulbous-nosed, of him when president of the Council the maidens of Madrid sang:

“Eyes just like the president  
Has my cherished lover;  
One looks toward the Orient  
And westward looks the other.”

Ambassador to France for fourteen years, he sent home countless letters that are a source of light on every possible episode of note and on many that might well have been suffered to remain in darkness. In all that he writes no Spaniard is more Spanish than he. Through manifold forms of expression he knows how to pronounce and apply, as do but few among his contemporaries, the Spanish shibboleth of *cuerno*, *cebolla*, and *ajo*—every facile turn of a tongue, all the niceties of a speech as rich as it is versatile; and his correspondence sparkles with a grace and wit that are quite his own.

Simancas, indeed, has no more fascinating personality revealed among its records than that of Aranda, and none of whom leave-taking occasions more regret. As the castle-gate is closing behind us, suppose we listen for a moment to his characterization of the two countries and their relationship which he knows so well—a characterization that has not lost its savor with the lapse of time:

Spain and France are like water and oil that can not mix, save only when thoroughly beaten together; but when the stirring ceases the two things separate. With all the other nations of the world we Spaniards would be like water and wine or vinegar, or lemon juice or orange juice or strawberry juice or gooseberry juice, which combine most readily; but the Frenchman, like oil, being lighter and greasier always wants to be on top and keep us underneath. That's what I think, with all due regard for those who may know better!

WILLIAM R. SHEPHERD.

Columbia University,  
May, 1926.

## THE POLICY OF SPAIN TOWARD ITS REVOLTED COLONIES, 1820-1823

The attitude of European nations and of the United States toward the Spanish colonies during the age of Monroe has been the subject of fruitful investigation. The elusive rôle of that association of European monarchs designated as the Holy Alliance has been considered from various angles.<sup>1</sup> An essay has been made to determine the position of the Tsar of Russia.<sup>2</sup> French dynastic and opportunistic policy has been weighed in the international balance.<sup>3</sup> The policies of the White House have often provoked discussion and research.<sup>4</sup> The diplomacy of England under the direction of two of its greatest foreign ministers has recently been studied in masterly fashion.<sup>5</sup> Although Spanish scholars have produced indices and books concerning the age of Ferdinand VII.,<sup>6</sup> yet they have failed to present in a synthetic fashion the policy

<sup>1</sup> W. P. Cresson, *The Holy Alliance* (New York, 1922); D. Perkins, "Europe, Spanish America, and the Monroe Doctrine," in the *American Historical Review*, XXVII. 207-218.

<sup>2</sup> D. Perkins, "Russia and the Spanish Colonies, 1817-1818," in the *American Historical Review*, XXVIII. 656-672.

<sup>3</sup> C. A. Villanueva, *La Monarquía en América: Bolívar y el General San Martín; Fernando VII y los Nuevos Estados* (Paris, 1911, 1912). Cf. H. Temperley, "French Designs in Spanish America, 1820-5," in the *English Historical Review*, XL. 34-52.

<sup>4</sup> W. S. Robertson, *Hispanic-American Relations with the United States* (New York, 1923), especially pp. 26-59; W. C. Ford, "John Quincy Adams and the Monroe Doctrine," in the *American Historical Review*, VI. 676-696, VII. 53-71.

<sup>5</sup> C. K. Webster, *The Foreign Policy of Castlereagh, 1815-1822* (London, 1925); H. Temperley, *The Foreign Policy of Canning, 1822-1827* (London, 1925).

<sup>6</sup> Marqués de Villa-Urrutia, *Fernando VII, Rey Constitucional* (Madrid, 1915); P. Torres Lanzas, *Independencia de América*, primera serie, 6 vols., Madrid, 1912, segunda serie, vol. I (Publicaciones del centro oficial de estudios americanistas de Sevilla, *Biblioteca colonial americana*, vol. XI.), Seville, 1924.



of their government toward the revolted colonies in the second and third decades of the nineteenth century. It will be the purpose of this paper in some degree to repair that gap in historical literature by a study of the policy of Spain toward its revolted colonies during those critical years which just preceded the promulgation of the Monroe Doctrine.

In general, during the years when Ferdinand VII. was an absolute king, Spanish statesmen did not seriously consider any other policy toward their insurgent colonies than the restoration of the Indies to the rule of the metropolis. At times, it is true, they did contemplate employing the mediatory influence of England to restore their colonial domain to its former place in their political system. Even before the Revolution of Riego took place there were Spaniards who occasionally meditated about the peculiar status of their former colonies. Although the constitution of 1820 was hailed with delight by loyal colonial subjects, yet during the years from 1820 to 1823 certain Spanish statesmen seriously considered the delicate problem of readjusting their relations with the Indies. In state papers of the constitutional régime the aspirations of liberal publicists were not infrequently veiled under the alluring rubric, "the pacification of America".

A significant note was soon struck by Antonio L. Pereyra, who had served the king in Spanish America. In a trenchant memoir which analyzed the relations between Spain and the American insurgents, he asserted that they could never be happy under the constitution of 1820 with a cortes at Madrid. "With regard to Spanish America," he said,

it is certain that this domain cannot exist as one nation either with a constitution or without one. Mexico would not accept the laws which might be sanctioned in Lima; nor would Lima accept the laws which might be sanctioned in Mexico.

He maintained that Spain was confronted by a dilemma:—"either to recognize the independence of its colonies or to

subjugate them by force''.<sup>7</sup> He decried the thought of conquering the colonists; and he urged that the motherland should negotiate with the insurgent governments on the basis of recognition.

In March, 1820, a provisional junta formulated its views concerning the rebellious colonists. It decided that a decree convoking a unicameral cortes which was to include deputies from the colonies should be immediately sent to America; that this decree should be accompanied by a manifesto from the king to his colonial subjects; and that these communications should be transmitted to the revolutionary as well as to the loyal sections.<sup>8</sup> On March 31, Ferdinand VII. addressed a proclamation to his American subjects which obviously contained the message that was put into his mouth by liberal ministers. In this manifesto the king praised the new government and besought the colonists to listen to "the tender voice" of their "king and father". He asked them to renew the relations which had formerly existed between Spain and its colonies and implored them to lay down their arms and end the barbarous war.<sup>9</sup> On April 5, the new council of state decided that commissioners should be speedily dispatched to Spanish America who should be vested with regal authority.<sup>10</sup>

On April 15, instructions for these commissioners were framed in fifty-one articles. These instructions provided that on their arrival in the Spanish Indies the commissioners were to announce that hostilities had ceased. Further, they were to inform juntas composed of loyalist officials of the government's new colonial policy. In negotiations with the insurgents these agents were to insist that the Spanish constitution

<sup>7</sup> A. L. Pereyra, *Memoria presentada á las Cortes de 1821 sobre la Conveniencia de la absoluta Independencia de las Antiguas Colonias Españolas de su Metrópoli* (Madrid, 1837), p. 43.

<sup>8</sup> Minute of the Council of State, March 31, 1820, Archivo General de Indias, Indiferente General, 146-1-15.

<sup>9</sup> A. R. Villa, *El Teniente General Don Pablo Morillo*, IV. 255-256.

<sup>10</sup> Minute of the Council of State, April 5, 1820, *ut supra*.

should be recognized and that the colonial subjects should send deputies to the cortes. If the colonists accepted these terms, "eternal forgetfulness" of the past was to be promised. Provisional conventions of commerce between Spain and its colonies might even be arranged. Yet any transaction was to be considered as tentative until the cortes formulated a policy. The suggestion was made that in case the insurgents did not accept the proffered terms, it might be better for the Spanish negotiators to await new instructions instead of announcing that hostilities would be renewed.<sup>11</sup> On April 25, the secretaries of state, war, and the navy in the first constitutional ministry were asked to nominate suitable men to act as commissioners. Orders were issued that they should be furnished with twelve hundred copies of the Spanish constitution and with a cipher for secret correspondence.<sup>12</sup> In June, missions composed of two members were appointed for Venezuela, New Granada, Peru, and Chile, while a mission of three was chosen for La Plata. Notices of these measures were sent to viceroys and captains general in America.<sup>13</sup> On September 27, the cortes passed a decree announcing to the colonists the reestablishment of the constitutional system and extending a general pardon to the inhabitants of all sections where the Spanish constitution might be accepted.<sup>14</sup> The two commissioners who had been selected for Peru soon declined the appointment. Those who were destined for Venezuela and New Granada reached Caracas in December, 1820. Upon learning that the patriot commander Bolívar intended to dis-

<sup>11</sup> "Instrucciones reservadas para los Comisionados que van de orden del Rey á procurar la pacificación de las Provincias disidentes de Ultramar," Archivo General de Indias, Indiferente General, 146-1-16; Conde de Torata, *Documentos para la Historia de la Guerra separatista del Peru*, IV. 246 ff.

<sup>12</sup> "Ligeros apuntes en el expediente sobre remitir á las Provincias disidentes de Ultramar comisionados que tratan de restablecer la paz por medios conciliatorios," Archivo General de Indias, Indiferente General, 146-1-16.

<sup>13</sup> Jabat to the secretary of the colonies, July 2, 1820, *ibid.*, 146-1-15.

<sup>14</sup> *Colección de los Decretos y Órdenes Generales expedidos por las Cortes*, V. 143-144.



patch agents to Spain to negotiate for peace, the Spaniards decided to send one member of each mission to Madrid in company with his agents. The remaining members of these missions finally drifted to the West Indies.<sup>15</sup> The three commissioners who were assigned to the viceroyalty of La Plata reached Montevideo on November 19, 1820. Shortly afterward they addressed a letter to the legislature of the province of Buenos Aires announcing their arrival and requesting a safe-conduct in the execution of their duties. The government of Buenos Aires did not encourage them to prosecute their mission, however, and they soon returned to the Peninsula.<sup>16</sup>

José Rodríguez de Arias and Manuel Abreu, the commissioners to Chile, reached Porto Bello in January, 1821, where Arias was compelled to give up the journey because of illness. Abreu proceeded to the viceroyalty of Peru.<sup>17</sup> There, in consequence of instructions from Spain, the viceroy had engaged in negotiations for peace with General José de San Martín, a patriot commander who had landed at Pisco with an army of liberation from Chile.<sup>18</sup> In May, 1821, after José de la Serna had virtually become the viceroy, an arrangement was made for an armistice between the contending armies and for a conference between their commanders. This interview

<sup>15</sup> Torres Lanzas, *Independencia de América*, primera serie, V. *passim*. On the negotiations which took place in 1820 between Bolívar and the royalist commander Morillo, see Villa, *El Teniente General Don Pablo Morillo*, IV. 204-209, 214-217, 227-229, 250-253. In regard to the fruitless mission of Bolívar's agents, Revenga and Echevarría, to Spain, see P. I. Cadena, *Anales Diplomáticos de Colombia*, pp. 151-213. A summary of these related diplomatic episodes will be found in W. S. Robertson, *Rise of the Spanish-American Republics*, pp. 242-244.

<sup>16</sup> *Correspondencias Generales de la Provincia de Buenos Aires relativas á Relaciones Exteriores, 1820-1824* (Facultad de filosofía y letras, *Documentos para la Historia Argentina*, XIII.), pp. 41-42.

<sup>17</sup> Torata, *Documentos para la Historia de la Guerra separatista del Peru*, IV. 257-258.

<sup>18</sup> Pezuela to the Commandant of Cuzco, September 28, 1820, *Correspondencia del Virrey*, 1820 (MSS. Biblioteca Nacional, Lima).

took place on June 2 at Punchauca in the presence of the leading officers of both armies. As a necessary preliminary to any negotiations the patriot general demanded that Spain should acknowledge the independence of Peru. He proposed the establishment in South America of a constitutional monarchy, suggesting that the ruler of the new state might be a prince of the Spanish dynasty. Although this project was favored by Abreu, yet the royalist commander declined to accept it. As a justification for this decision, he pleaded that he was not authorized to sanction such an adjustment.<sup>19</sup>

News of the insurrection in Mexico led by Agustín de Iturbide startled the legislators who assembled at Madrid in the spring of 1821. Significant among the projects for a reconciliation between Spain and its colonies was a scheme prepared by American deputies which was styled by Bolívar's agents as a "plan of apparent emancipation".<sup>20</sup> This proposed that Spanish America should be divided into three sections with capitals at Lima, Bogotá, and the city of Mexico. Each section should have as chief executive a regent selected by the Spanish king and a legislature subordinated to the cortes. Each division should pay an annual subsidy for the support of the Spanish government as well as a large contribution toward the discharge of its foreign debt; trade between Spain and Spanish America should be viewed as internal commerce.<sup>21</sup> A committee of the cortes actually presented this

<sup>19</sup> *Manifiesto y Documentos de las Negociaciones de Punchauca* (Lima, 1821), pp. 111-118; Torata, *Documentos para la Historia de la Guerra separatista del Peru*, IV. 258-267, 332-334. See further, T. Guido, "Negociaciones de Punchauca," *La Revista de Buenos Aires*, VII. 481-516. A summary of the negotiations at Punchauca and an analysis of the views presented by San Martín at the famous interview at Guayaquil with Bolívar may be found in Robertson, *Rise of the Spanish-American Republics*, pp. 204-207, 255-260.

<sup>20</sup> Cadena, *Anales Diplomáticos de Colombia*, p. 188. On the cool reception of Revenga and Echevarría in Spain, see further, P. A. Zubieta, *Apuntaciones sobre las primeras Misiones Diplomáticas de Colombia*, pp. 335-377.

<sup>21</sup> *Diario de las Sesiones de Cortes, Legislatura de 1821*, III. 2471-2477. This is printed by L. Alamán, *Historia de México* (México, 1885), V. 793-795.

project for American regencies to the ministry. Still, in a secret report dated June 20, 1821, the ministers formulated four objections to the immediate adoption of this project. They maintained that neither the king nor the ministry could take steps contrary to the constitution. The deputies to the cortes were not empowered to sanction such a scheme. Public opinion was not prepared for it. In order to adopt a practical plan Spain would have to consult other nations.<sup>22</sup> Four days later the legislators approved the report of a committee which declared that public opinion was not prepared for a definitive resolution on the revolted colonies but that as soon as possible the ministry should propose to the cortes the fundamental measures which it deemed convenient for their pacification. In consequence American deputies failed to induce the cortes to enact a decree adopting the regency project for the viceroyalty of Mexico.<sup>23</sup>

On June 30, in his speech closing the legislative session, Ferdinand assured the deputies that the government, incited by the cortes, would propose the measures which it considered appropriate for the welfare of the American colonists. He avowed that there was nothing he so much desired for the Spaniards of both hemispheres as "their happiness based on the integrity of the monarchy and the observance of the constitution".<sup>24</sup> Meantime he gave intimations of his secret wishes to Count Montmorency-Laval, the French minister at Madrid. In a letter to Baron Pasquier about his conversations with Ferdinand that minister said:

<sup>22</sup> Cadena, *Anales Diplomáticos de Colombia*, pp. 208-209.

<sup>23</sup> *Diario de las Sesiones de Cortes, Legislatura de 1821*, III. 2496-2497. In the *Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Americanistas de Sevilla*, año 1, núm. 2, pp. 52-57, is a copy of a secret memoir of doubtful authenticity, first published in 1827, which has some points of resemblance to the projects of the Mexican deputies and also to the monarchical designs of San Martín. Some writers have assumed that the Spanish minister, Count Aranda, presented this memorial to King Charles III. just after the treaty of peace had been signed between England and the Thirteen Colonies.

<sup>24</sup> *Gazeta Extraordinaria de Madrid*, June 30, 1821.



This prince hopes that the policy of the Allies will cause them to interfere in the affairs of Spanish America and he desires that this intervention will lead to explanations about the duress of his position.<sup>25</sup>

Events in Mexico soon provoked Spanish statesmen. At Córdoba, on August 24, 1821, the royalist commander, Juan O'Donojú, signed with Colonel Agustín de Iturbide a convention which provided for the establishment of a constitutional monarchy in New Spain and which acknowledged the independence of the latter from Old Spain. After the news of the treaty of Córdoba reached Madrid the council of state decided that an announcement should be made that O'Donojú had no instructions authorizing him to alienate national territory.<sup>26</sup> On December 7, 1821, Ramón Pelegrin, secretary of the colonies, sent a note to important colonial corporations and officials stating that Ferdinand VII. had not authorized O'Donojú or anyone else to negotiate a treaty acknowledging the independence of any colony. Further, Pelegrin explained that the king and the cortes were actually considering how to pacify Spanish America.<sup>27</sup>

In a speech to the extraordinary cortes which assembled in the autumn of 1821 the king declared that it was to consider measures which would promote the tranquility and welfare of the Americas.<sup>28</sup> On January 17, 1822, the second constitutional ministry addressed a report to that legislature regarding "measures of pacification". This report contained the following queries:

Is Spain in a position to recognize the independence of all the transatlantic colonies in which there is an insurrection? Is it in a posi-

<sup>25</sup> June 11, 1821, Archives des Affaires Étrangères, Correspondance Politique, Espagne, 713.

<sup>26</sup> The Council of State to the King, December 12, 1821, Archivo General de Indias, Estado, Audiencia de México, 23.

<sup>27</sup> *Gaceta Imperial de México*, March 28, 1822, p. 98.

<sup>28</sup> *Diario de las Sesiones de Cortes, Legislatura Extraordinaria, 1821-1822*, I. 26.

tion to recognize the independence of any of them? . . . The impartial judgment of such persons as are best acquainted with those countries is in the negative; while the disastrous essay at independence which has been made for more than ten consecutive years in the viceroyalty of La Plata does not leave room for the least doubt.<sup>29</sup>

The ministers maintained that the time had not arrived for the acknowledgment of the independence of the rebellious colonies. As a mode of accommodating the differences between them and the motherland they proposed eight measures: (1) A suspension of hostilities in the Spanish Indies for two years. (2) During that period its representatives should be allowed to make known the evils of the existing administration as well as the obstacles to colonial prosperity. (3) The colonies might authorize their deputies in the cortes to propose the suspension of such articles of the constitution as they judged inimical to their welfare. (4) Decrees depriving priests of their peculiar privileges, suppressing monkish orders, and reforming religious communities in the Indies should be suspended. (5) Only moderate duties should be imposed by one province of Spanish America on the products of any other province, while all obstacles to commerce between those provinces and the motherland were to be removed. (6) Under regulations which would insure preferential treatment to Spanish commerce and navigation for six years, free trade should exist between the American dependencies of Spain and those European nations with which there was peace. (7) Unsettled lands and royal lands in Spanish America were to be distributed among the aborigines and the mixed classes. (8) Spain should enlist the coöperation of another state to promote the pacification of its colonies, and in return it should concede to that nation commercial and other privileges. In conclusion the ministry said:

<sup>29</sup> "Informe del Gobierno á las Cortes sobre medidas de pacificación para las Provincias de Ultramar," Archivo General de Indias, Indiferente General, 146-1-18.

The government feels that by the adoption of these measures the minds of the people in the American provinces will be conciliated and, although some peculiar governmental acts are proposed, it has seemed proper to mention them in order that the entire plan will be understood.<sup>30</sup>

A memoir which had been prepared at the instance of Secretary Pelegrin by Miguel Cabrera de Nevares, a Spaniard who had spent ten years in the viceroyalty of La Plata, was then presented to the cortes. His analysis of the situation of Spanish America is worth quoting:

What does unfortunate America desire? It is to become entirely independent of Spain. All the measures adopted toward the Spanish Indies have proved unfruitful; all the calculations have erred. . . . My heart sheds tears of blood when I admit that Spanish America is a colossus which moves steadily toward its independence, and that there is not on the globe a human power which is capable of arresting its impetuous march. . . . Let us not be deceived because of our *amor propre*; let us not be dazzled by thoughts of vengeance! To suffocate the insurrection in our colonies it would be necessary to build a bridge of ships stretching from the Peninsula to each one of the insurrectionary regions, and constantly to be equipping armies in Spain, to have armies marching over this bridge, and armies fighting in America! This is absolutely impracticable!

In this condition of moral and physical impotence, what policy should be adopted to bring about an enduring peace which would be advantageous both to Spain and to the colonies? Let us formulate the solution with firmness yet with regret—there is no other means than the acknowledgment of their independence! Let us have the fortitude to say more—it is inevitable and necessary that this recognition should be prompt! . . . One of the chief motives which ought to impel our government to a prompt recognition is the consideration that, if Spain does not so act, there are other nations which are ready to do so; and if this takes place, as is more than probable, they will gain the privileges and advantages which Spain might secure at this moment. The United States will be the first nation to acknowledge the independence of all our provinces in South America, and it

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*



will then recognize those in Middle America. . . . England has an obvious interest in according a recognition which would produce advantages to its commerce and mercantile marine. . . . It is probable that the first nation which becomes disgusted with Spain will begin hostilities by acknowledging the independent sovereignty of our colonies. Let us not forget that this was the very policy which Spain pursued when it recognized the independence of the United States in our own day, simply to injure England with whom Spain was at war!<sup>31</sup>

Then Cabrera de Nevares declared that the Spanish colonists were ready to make sacrifices to secure from the motherland an acknowledgment of their independence. He expressed the opinion that Spain might secure special privileges for its commerce and merchant marine and that it might be allowed to retain some ports or even an entire province in America. He avowed that the Spanish Americans were disposed to concede to Spain "a pecuniary subsidy for a term of years". As the result of such a policy, he suggested that the new American states might adopt the Spanish constitution with some modifications, even hinting that they might decide that

the crown of the New World should encircle the brow of the same august monarch who by good fortune holds the crown of European Spain.<sup>32</sup>

This provocative memoir was referred by the cortes to a committee which made a report on January 24, 1822. As the basis of a constructive measure it recommended that persons of intelligence and integrity should be authorized to present themselves to the insurgent governments, to receive in writing all the propositions which those governments might make, and

<sup>31</sup> M. Cabrera de Nevares, *Memoria sobre el Estado Actual de las Américas y Medio de pacificarlas* (Madrid, 1821), pp. 38-47.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 54. See further for the views of Cabrera de Nevares in 1836, W. S. Robertson, "The Recognition of the Spanish Colonies by the Motherland," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, I. 80.

to transmit them to Madrid with their observations in order that the cortes might formulate a policy.<sup>33</sup>

Three days later Francisco Fernández Golfín read to the cortes another memoir by Cabrera de Nevares which argued against this recommendation. Instead he maintained that the cortes should make a general acknowledgment of the independence of those continental American colonies which were *ipso facto* independent. Treaties of commerce between Spain and the Spanish-American states and treaties providing for the payment of subsidies by these nations to the motherland should be negotiated and submitted to the cortes. The new states should return to the Spaniards whatever properties had been confiscated during the revolutionary struggles. They should combine with the mother country to form a confederation of Spain and Spanish America. At the head of this system should be placed King Ferdinand VII. with the title "Protector of the Great Spanish-American Confederation". Within two years there should assemble at Madrid a congress composed of representatives of the federated state to consider matters of general interest, without prejudice to their respective constitutions.<sup>34</sup>

The committee's report and the memoirs of Cabrera de Nevares provoked animated debates in the cortes on January 27 and 28. Count Toreno denied that the committee had contemplated a general acknowledgment of Spanish-American independence and declared that it had proposed merely to initiate a negotiation of which the outcome would depend upon the character of the commissioners. Replying to an intimation that the committee had contemplated the partition of the Spanish monarchy, Toreno explained that its members

had not spoken of dependence or independence but merely of sending commissioners to Spanish America in order to hear the proposals of

<sup>33</sup> *Diario de las Sesiones de Cortes, Legislatura Extraordinaria, 1821-1822*, III. 1975-1976.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, III. 2021-2024.

revolutionary governments, to ascertain the sentiments of the people, and to transmit the views of the colonists to Madrid.<sup>35</sup>

On January 30, the secretary of the colonies informed the deputies that the ministry believed that it would be convenient to add to the committee's report a proviso to the effect that the negotiation should only be considered as a measure of conciliation. Then Navarrete boldly expressed the opinion that the government intended

to prevent the cortes from adopting the only means which would terminate the war in the Spanish-American provinces.<sup>36</sup>

On January 31, 1822, in a letter to Secretary Adams, the American minister at Madrid interpreted these proceedings in a similar fashion as follows: "This cortes is disposed to leave the solution of this business to their successors." He declared that the existing Spanish ministry "was not prepared to recognize the independence" of the patriot governments. "It would, I think, prefer selling the American possessions to the best *European bidder*."<sup>37</sup>

On February 13, after the report of the committee had been modified as the result of proposals of Moscoso and Toreno, the extraordinary cortes enacted a decree providing that Spain should send to America commissioners who were to hear the proposals of insurgent governments and to transmit them to Madrid. The decree announced that the treaty of Córdoba was illegal and void, as was also any other act or stipulation made by General O'Donojú acknowledging Mexican independence. It provided that Spain should inform other states by a manifesto that so long as differences existed between itself and Spanish America, it would view the partial or absolute recognition of its rebellious colonies as a violation

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, III. 2031.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, III. 2062.

<sup>37</sup> State Department MSS., Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Dispatches from Spain, XX.



of treaties. Further, it declared that the government should take other measures to inform foreign nations that Spain had not renounced any of its rights in the Indies. "In every possible way"—so ran the decree—the government should strive "to conserve those sections of America which are still loyal".<sup>38</sup> Ten days later the secretary of the colonies even suggested to the secretary of state that he undertake a secret negotiation with European cabinets to secure a ratification of the right of Spain to retain its colonies, and to propose, if necessary, that they should aid Spain

to destroy the fatal germ of rebellion and to reestablish peace and obedience to the legitimate government of the motherland.<sup>39</sup>

On March 20, the council of state considered the decree of February 13 in connection with a report of a committee of the department of the colonies of the third constitutional ministry. This committee had declared that it was expensive, useless, and indecorous for Spain to send commissioners to the Indies who did not have force to make themselves respected or authority to enter into amicable negotiations. It also suggested that to each section of Spanish America there should be sent two impartial men, acquainted with the character of its people, and capable of inspiring confidence in the colonists as well as in the Spaniards. The council took the view that the government should decide the sections to which commissioners should be sent who should

listen to the insurgents and negotiate with them without deciding anything, which is what the cortes wished to signify by the word "hear" used in the decree.

Opinions expressed by councillors during the discussion show that at this time they did not favor an acknowledgment of Spanish-American independence.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>38</sup> *Colección de los Decretos y Ordenes Generales expedidos por las Cortes*, VIII. 272-274.

<sup>39</sup> Undated Minute, Archivo General de Indias, Indiferente General, 146-1-17.

<sup>40</sup> Archivo Histórico Nacional, Estado, Actas del Consejo, 26 d.

On March 18, about two weeks after the cortes had assembled in regular session, the attention of its members was directed to the colonies by a speech of Juan Sánchez. He declared that Spain had lost the entire American continent and was now without the military force or diplomatic skill necessary for its recovery. He argued that the projected negotiations with the insurgent colonies would produce evil results; hence he proposed that the missions authorized by the extraordinary cortes should be empowered to negotiate "a suspension of all hostile acts, military or political, for a period of six years" as well as

to conclude with all the provinces which had actually separated from Spain provisional treaties of commerce on bases which should be advantageous to both parties.<sup>41</sup>

On March 28, these proposals were transmitted to the committee on the colonies.<sup>42</sup> On April 14, that committee reported to the cortes that

it was neither convenient nor politic at present for his majesty's government to bind its hands by means of definite treaties in the manner proposed by the first of these propositions; but that there was no objection to intrusting the commissioners dispatched by the extraordinary cortes with instructions which would be ample up to a certain point, in order that, without compromising the liberty of the ministry or of the cortes in regard to the acknowledgment of independence, they could initiate negotiations and frame treaties of commerce with the *de facto* governments which were established where Spain no longer had any military influence.<sup>43</sup>

Further, the committee recommended that the government ought to make known its views about Sánchez's proposals. This report was considered by the council of state on May 4. Although the majority of the council approved the conclusions of the committee, yet certain members presented dis-

<sup>41</sup> *Diario de las Sesiones de Cortes, Legislatura de 1822*, I. 409-410.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, I. 614.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, II. 830-832.

senting views. Count Taboada urged that "the commissioners should be authorized to treat with the insurgents for the recognition of their independence" with analogous constitutions providing for monarchies under princes of the Spanish dynasty, while Gabriel Ciscar submitted a note declaring that he was convinced of "the necessity of proceeding to the recognition of the absolute independence of the revolted colonies in America".<sup>44</sup>

At this juncture the situation was complicated by news of President Monroe's message to congress of March 8, 1822, recommending the acknowledgment of Spanish-American independence by the United States.<sup>45</sup> As a consequence, Martínez de la Rosa, a poet who had become secretary of state, soon sent dispatches to Spain's ambassadors at important European courts instructing them to protest vigorously against this message and directing them to counteract its effects. In May that secretary addressed to Spain's ambassadors at twelve European courts a manifesto which denounced the policy of the United States as a violation of Spain's rights and a defiance of the sacred principles of legitimacy. He described the attitude of his government in these words:

Consequently his Catholic Majesty ardently desires to terminate such a painful situation—full of anxiety and uncertainty—and, carrying into execution the beneficent resolutions of the cortes, he has appointed commissioners who are to proceed to the dissident transatlantic provinces in order to hear the propositions of the insurgents, to transmit them to the Spanish government, and to begin a frank and sincere correspondence which will have as its object the welfare of those countries and of the Spanish nation. . . . His Catholic Majesty does not present himself to the revolted colonists as a monarch who is angry with his offending subjects but as a father who wishes to act as a mediator in the misunderstandings of his children.

<sup>44</sup> Archivo Histórico Nacional, Actas del Consejo, 26 d.

<sup>45</sup> See W. S. Robertson, "The United States and Spain in 1822," *American Historical Review*, XX. 785 ff.



. . . There never has been initiated a more important transaction. Nor is it possible that any government has ever prepared to initiate such a negotiation with greater loyalty and good faith.<sup>46</sup>

In transmitting this manifesto to the English secretary of state for foreign affairs the Spanish minister at London made this interpretative comment:

On presenting itself to treat with its insurgent provinces, supported by the formidable party in them that favors the integrity of the monarchy, fortified by legitimate titles, and being the only nation which can solve the difficulties of those countries and can consolidate instead of agitating them, Spain will be able to negotiate an important agreement from which considerable benefit will flow to both parties, and which should redound to the general benefit of Europe.<sup>47</sup>

On May 16, 1822, preliminary instructions for the commissioners were approved. They were admonished to study the patriot, royalist, and constitutional parties in Spanish America. They were to gather information about the factions that had appeared there because of differences which had arisen about the form of government adapted for the insurgent communities. Under no circumstances were they to negotiate with a tottering régime. With persons who had not participated in the insurrections or who had been coerced to participate in them they were to act circumspectly. Skilfully were they admonished that the provincial spirit which existed in many parts of the Indies could be utilized to demonstrate the advantages of Spain's constitutional system; for it would permit the division of Spanish America into sections which might enjoy a degree of autonomy, and would allow Spanish citizens residing in the colonies and Spanish Americans resid-

<sup>46</sup> "Manifiesto sobre el estado de las Provincias disidentes de América, en Madrid, Mayo de 1822," Archivo General de Indias, América en General, 5. This manifesto is printed in the *Gaceta del Gobierno Imperial de México*, August 22, 1822, pp. 650 ff. An English translation is found in *British and Foreign State Papers*, IX. 889-894.

<sup>47</sup> Onís to Castlereagh, May 27, 1822, Public Record Office, 72/262.

ing in the Peninsula to enjoy reciprocal rights in the territories of the other contracting party.<sup>48</sup> "Secret Instructions" stated that if, during the sojourn of the commissioners in the Indies any foreign nation should undertake to acknowledge Spanish-American independence and send agents to a *de facto* government the commissioners were to make known the need of postponing the reception of such emissaries until the negotiations for reconciliation with Spain had been terminated. Similarly, insurgent governments were to be strongly advised against the despatch of agents to any foreign power for the purpose of negotiating treaties of any character. The underlying principle of the negotiations between Spain and the revolutionary communities was stated to be

the just desire to reestablish as soon as possible the relations between Spain and Spanish America on the bases provided in the constitution so that they might form one single monarchy with common and equal rights and laws.<sup>49</sup>

Expressing the opinion that the decree of February 13 was inadequate, on June 25, 1822, a legislative committee presented certain proposals to the cortes. While making recommendations for the protection of loyalists in the Indies and for the encouragement of commerce by the establishment of neutral ports and the adoption of a neutral flag, this committee urged that the government should be authorized to adopt whatever policy the conditions in each section of Spanish America might demand.<sup>50</sup> In contrast with this program a member of the committee on the colonies named Ibarra urged that Spain should suspend hostilities with the insurgents and should frame treaties with them

<sup>48</sup> "Previsiones reservadas á los Comisionados nombrados por el Rey para las provincias disidentes de Ultramar," Archivo General de Indias, Indiferente General, 146-1-17.

<sup>49</sup> "Previsiones muy reservadas que S. M. hace á los Comisionados para las Provincias disidentes de Ultramar," May 15, 1822, *ibid.*

<sup>50</sup> *Diario de las sesiones de Cortes, Legislatura de 1822*, III. 2156-2159.

offering to recognize their independence as soon as they had established governments based on the general wish of their inhabitants or as soon as the United States, England, and France undertook to recognize the new states.<sup>51</sup>

In the ensuing discussion Galiano declared that he was willing that Spain should say to the colonists: "Here is your independence,—give us in return some advantages."<sup>52</sup> Canga Argüelles stated that if the new governments had acquired enough stability to offer advantages to Spain, he would treat with them even though they claimed to be independent. Isturiz held that the condition of Spanish America demanded the acknowledgement of its independence. Joaquín de Ferrer interpreted the authority granted to the commissioners to mean that they were

to transmit to Spain the proposals made to them by the Spanish-American governments, that is, to initiate negotiations which, beginning with a cessation of hostilities, would involve a consideration of independence.<sup>53</sup>

Finally the recommendation concerning a neutral flag and neutral ports was withdrawn by the committee, while its remaining proposals were approved by the cortes.<sup>54</sup> In commenting upon this program Minister Forsyth said in a dispatch to Adams:

Everything which has been done on this subject proves conclusively that the Cortes and the Govt. are satisfied that they are without the power to produce a reunion of Spanish America with the Peninsula *by force*, yet with this conviction there exists a perverse determination not to adopt the only measure which promises to be advantageous to Spain.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, III. 2160.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, III. 2162-2163.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, III. 2189.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, III. 2190-2191.

<sup>55</sup> June 23, 1822, State Dept. MSS., Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Dispatches from Spain, XX. This dispatch is printed in William R. Manning, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States Concerning the Independence of the Latin-American Nations*, III. 2016-2017.



On June 26, the same committee submitted a report to the cortes concerning the proposals made by Sánchez. It recommended that the agents destined for the Indies should be commissioned to suspend hostilities between the royalists and the revolutionists, that they should be authorized to negotiate treaties of commerce with the dissident provinces, and that meantime the commercial relations between those provinces and Spain should not be interrupted. During the ensuing debate Galiano again declared himself in favor of the acknowledgment of independence:

I have advocated the independence of the colonies, for I earlier said, and I shall repeat it a thousand times, that I believe Spanish-American independence to be inevitable.<sup>56</sup>

With certain modifications the committee's recommendations were approved by the legislature. Accordingly, on June 28, the cortes enacted a decree which outlined the policy to be followed toward the Indies. This decree instructed the government to take measures to protect those inhabitants of the American colonies who had remained faithful to Spain. It authorized the ministry to frame instructions for commissioners who should be dispatched to negotiate provisional treaties of commerce with the revolted provinces.<sup>57</sup> This act accordingly reënforced the provisions of the decree of February 13, 1822, concerning missions to America.

Meantime the ministers had been engaged in selecting agents who were to undertake the delicate task of pacification. In May the secretary of the colonies selected commissioners who were to negotiate with insurgent governments in Mexico, Central America, and South America. The mission to Guatemala lapsed because Central America had been absorbed by the Mexican Empire. On May 3, 1822, Juan Jabat was informed of his appointment as a commissioner to Mexico.

<sup>56</sup> *Diario de las Sesiones de Cortes, Legislatura de 1822*, III. 2193.

<sup>57</sup> *Colección de Decretos y Ordenes Generales expedidos por las Cortes*, IX. 499-500.

Jabat was told that he had been selected in accordance with the decree of the cortes dated February 13 which authorized the appointment of persons "who by their talents, education, and the estimation in which they were held" were fitted to present themselves to the Spanish-American governments,

in order to hear and to receive all the propositions which they may make for transmissal to the metropolis, with the exception of such proposals as might withdraw or restrict the liberty which peninsular Spaniards and American colonists enjoy to transfer and dispose of their persons, families, and properties as best suits them.<sup>58</sup>

The other commissioners were eventually sent similar communications. With these notifications they were transmitted the decree of the cortes dated June 28 which was considered as supplementary instructions.<sup>59</sup> Before sailing they were given "additional instructions" framed by the fourth constitutional ministry and dated August 4, 1822, which elaborated their earlier instructions in accordance with that decree. The additional instructions were largely concerned with the commercial relations which might be sanctioned by the parties entering into the negotiations and with the reciprocal rights of Spaniards and Spanish Americans. The agents were allowed "to explain to the governments established in America the disadvantages which resulted from the interruption of mercantile relations" between Spain and the Indies. They were conceded the right to negotiate "provisional commercial agreements" with the new governments. Yet they were warned that

the chief object of this concession is, as has been said, that our mutual mercantile relations should not be interrupted while the reconciliation

<sup>58</sup> Clemencin to Jabat, May 3, 1822, Archivo General de Indias, Indiferente General, 131-1-18.

<sup>59</sup> *Correspondencias Generales de la Provincia de Buenos Aires relativas á Relaciones Exteriores, 1820-1824* (Facultad de filosofía y letras, *Documentos para la Historia Argentina*, vol. XIV.), pp. 211-214.

is being negotiated which is to be expected as a final result of these commissions.<sup>60</sup>

As Jabat declined the appointment, Juan Ramón Osés and Santiago Irisarri were made commissioners for the pacification of Mexico. They sailed from Cadiz on the frigate *Constitución* on October 7, 1822, and reached the castle of San Juan de Ullúa in January, 1823. Upon their arrival they were given information about Mexican conditions by the royalist commander, General Lemaure.<sup>61</sup> They soon entered into negotiations with the agents of Iturbide, Colonel Francisco de Paula Álvarez, Captain Eugenio Cortés, and Pablo M. de la Llave. The question as to the real attitude of the Spanish government toward Mexican independence became a topic of correspondence between Álvarez and Iturbide, who had been proclaimed emperor of Mexico with the title of Agustín I. The emperor soon instructed Álvarez that no treaty should be negotiated with the Spaniards until they had formally recognized Mexican independence.<sup>62</sup> After the enforced resignation of the emperor in April, 1823, the negotiations were continued on behalf of the new government of Mexico by General Guadalupe Victoria who was also instructed that his country's independence should be acknowledged. The only reply which Spain's agents felt warranted in making to his overtures was a statement that their government had authorized them to entertain proposals contemplating recognition and to transmit them to Madrid.<sup>63</sup> After Lemaure had made a military attack

<sup>60</sup> "Instrucción adicional aprobada por Su Magestad para los Comisionados destinados á las provincias de Ultramar," Archivo General de Indias, Indiferente General, 146-1-17.

<sup>61</sup> Lemaure to the Secretary of the Colonies, January 25, 1823, *ibid.*, Audiencia de México, 90-2-16.

<sup>62</sup> Álvarez to Agustín I, February 1, 1823, Iturbide MSS. (Library of Congress), V.

<sup>63</sup> *La Diplomacia Mexicana*, I. 306.



on Vera Cruz, General Victoria peremptorily ordered the Spanish commissioners to depart from Mexican soil.<sup>64</sup>

Meantime two of the agents who in 1820 were commissioned to negotiate with the insurgents in Venezuela and New Granada had been instructed to resume negotiations with the government of "Great Colombia".<sup>65</sup> As they failed to secure funds, however, they were unable to proceed from Habana to Bogotá where the Colombian secretary of foreign relations was evidently expecting them.<sup>66</sup> Luis A. Robla was sent as commissioner to La Plata and instructed to join his colleague, Antonio L. Pereyra, at Rio de Janeiro.<sup>67</sup> These agents went to Montevideo where they soon entered into communication with Bernardino Rivadavia, a talented leader of the United Provinces of La Plata who was acting as their secretary of foreign affairs. At the instance of Secretary Rivadavia, in June, 1823, the legislature of Buenos Aires adopted a law providing that the government should not make definitive treaties of peace, war, or neutrality with Spain until that country had terminated hostilities with the new American states and recognized their independence.<sup>68</sup> On July 4, 1823, Rivadavia signed with Pereyra and Robla a preliminary treaty of peace which provided that hostilities between Spain and the United Provinces were to cease seventy days after its ratifications were exchanged. This armistice was to last for sixteen months. Meantime negotiations should be carried on

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, I. 372-374.

<sup>65</sup> Torres Lanzas, *Independencia de América*, primera serie, V. 476.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, V. 496, 515; Todd to Adams, January 8, 1823, State Department MSS., Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Dispatches from Colombia, II.

<sup>67</sup> See Pereyra, *Memoria presentada á las Cortes de 1821, sobre la Conveniencia de la absoluta Independencia de las Antiguas Colonias Españolas de su Metrópoli*, p. iii, where he states that he had determined to present to the Cortes the results of his "observations about the important and pressing question 'whether the provinces of Ultramar would be more useful to them as integral parts of the monarchy than as independent states.'" Pereyra stated that the instructions which he had received did not harmonize with his own views.

<sup>68</sup> *Registro Oficial de la República Argentina*, II. 38.

for a definitive treaty of peace between Spain and the United Provinces. Commercial relations were to be reestablished between the motherland and every state of Spanish America which ratified this treaty. The government of La Plata agreed to negotiate with other South American governments for their accession to the treaty of reconciliation.<sup>69</sup>

Three days later, the Argentine secretary of state addressed notes to the chief executives of Chile and Peru soliciting them to send delegates to Madrid to negotiate a definitive treaty with Spain.<sup>70</sup> He even despatched an agent to negotiate peace with the royalist military commander in Upper Peru.<sup>71</sup> Three weeks later the Spanish commissioners presented to Rivadavia a project of a provisional treaty of commerce between the loyal Spanish provinces and the insurgent colonies.<sup>72</sup> In August, 1823, to a cortes which had sought refuge in Cadiz from the French invaders the committee on the Colonies actually recommended that negotiations should be authorized between Spanish plenipotentiaries and Spanish-American commissioners upon the bases which the Americans "should consider most suitable, without, in case of necessity, excluding independence".<sup>73</sup>

French bayonets freed Ferdinand VII. from the tutelage of liberal statesmen, however, and a radical alteration in the policy of Spain toward the Indies took place at once. On October 1, 1823, the restored Ferdinand published a decree announcing that all acts of the constitutional government were null and void, as from March 7, 1820, to October 1, 1823, he had sanctioned laws and decrees under duress.<sup>74</sup> Shortly

<sup>69</sup> *Correspondencias Generales de la Provincia de Buenos Aires relativos á Relaciones Exteriores, 1820-1824* (Facultad de filosofía y letras, *Documentos para la Historia Argentina*, vol. XIV), pp. 238-240.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 244-248.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 478-479.

<sup>72</sup> Pereyra and Robla to the Secretary of the Colonies, August 4, 1823, *Archivo General de Indias, Indiferente General*, 146-1-18.

<sup>73</sup> *Diario de las Sesiones de Cortes celebradas en Sevilla y Cádiz en 1823*, p. 402.

<sup>74</sup> *Historia de la Vida y Reinado de Fernando VII de España*, III. 159-162.

afterwards, in an interview with the French envoy, Spain's "universal" minister, Victor Saez, advised him not to entertain any inquietude about the preliminary convention which commissioners for the pacification of America had signed at Buenos Aires. The new government of Spain, said Saez, would never sanction any acts of the liberal cortes unless it were forced to do so.<sup>75</sup> In December, 1823, the Council of the Indies decided that all proceedings of the constitutional legislatures with regard to the pacification of the revolted colonies should be annulled.<sup>76</sup> On January 26, 1824, King Ferdinand issued a decree announcing that the powers granted to the commissioners of pacification by the constitutional government were null, and that any negotiations which they might have carried on contrary to his legitimate rights were without any sanction or effect. Further, he commanded those commissioners immediately to return to the Spanish Peninsula.<sup>77</sup>

The unique epoch in Spanish history extending from 1820 to 1823 was thus distinguished by attempts on the part of the constitutional government to formulate a new policy toward the Indies. Although the king was at heart bitterly opposed to a reconciliation with the rebellious colonists through amicable negotiations, yet successive liberal ministries and legislatures undertook to arrange an adjustment with them by special agents. Notwithstanding the fact that their instructions stipulated that they should induce the insurgents to recognize the sovereignty of the constitutional government, yet the missions were not prohibited from entertaining propositions which contemplated the separation of the revolted colonies from Spain. The success of the commissioners to La Plata in arranging a preliminary treaty of peace at Buenos Aires suggests that, had a liberal minister remained at the

<sup>75</sup> Talaru to Châteaubriand, October 20, 1823, Archives des Affaires Étrangères, Correspondance Politique, Espagne, 724.

<sup>76</sup> Collar to Ofalia, December 17, 1823, Archivo General de Indias, Indiferente General, 146-1-18.

<sup>77</sup> Undated broadside, *ibid.*



helm of state, such negotiations might conceivably have culminated in an acknowledgment of Spanish-American independence by the motherland at a juncture when prominent English and American publicists suspected the Holy Alliance of plotting intervention by force of arms to restore the rule of Spain over its rebellious colonies in America. But the repudiation of the liberal colonial policy by the restored and absolute king shattered the hopes of those enlightened Spaniards who dreamed that through an act of recognition they might initiate cordial relations with a family of Hispanic nations in the New World.

WILLIAM SPENCE ROBERTSON.

## THE GEOGRAPHICAL DISCOVERIES AND CONQUESTS OF THE PORTUGUESE<sup>1</sup>

For long little was known of the geographical discoveries of the Portuguese, because their kings carefully practised what is known as the policy of mystery, in order to keep secret their scientific and material acquisitions and prevent the competition of rivals. Severe penalties were decreed against any person who should reveal these secrets, which foreign spies, especially Venetian, persistently sought to discover. The chroniclers have merely given us the chronological sequence and incidental aspects of those enterprises which for over a century and a half were the dominant political consideration of the Portuguese kings.

Gomez Eanes de Zurara is the first Portuguese chronicler to treat of the overseas undertaking, the fortresses in Morocco, and the conquest of Guinea, but Damião de Goes is the first to realize more fully the dominating idea of Prince Henry the Navigator, to reach India after rounding the Cape of Good Hope. And he does so in 1567, in his short Chronicle of the Prince Dom João, emphasizing the fact that he was the first to do so.

It is clear that these voyages and conquests were not mere arbitrary acts of Prince João and the reigning kings in equipping and sending out fleets. A combination of circumstances and numerous auxiliary arts and sciences helped them, but knowledge continued non-existent or meager so long as its sources were confined to the narratives of the chroniclers and records of land and sea travel. It was in the nineteenth century that the mystery began surely to be revealed by renewal

<sup>1</sup> In part, the substance of this paper constituted two lectures delivered at the University of London in 1924, during the Camões commemoration.

of history in which a principal part was taken by the second viscount of Santarem, who made a skilful study of maps with the help of special instruments, and recently by Senhor Joaquim Bensaude, who has reconstructed the knowledge of nautical astronomy which the Portuguese had at their service. In this work of revealing the old enigma of the Portuguese discoveries some foreigners joined: the Hakluyt Society, Henry Richard Major, Sophus Ruge, Henry Harris, Frederick Charles Danvers, Ernest George Ravenstein, Kunt Krause, Henry Vignaud, and Raymond Beazley. I intend to give a rapid sketch of the present state of knowledge on this subject, and shall begin with the social description of the country in the fifteenth century.

#### SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN PORTUGAL IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

What was the population of Portugal in the age of discoveries? The oldest sure record of the population is the list of "besteiros do couto", a kind of corps of guards who enjoyed the privileges of knights. This list is included in the "*Ordenações Affonsinas*", a body of the laws of the realm drawn up by command of King Affonso V. and originated in the order given by King João I. in 1417 to Vasco Fernandez de Tavora and Armão Baurim to go through the kingdom and select and engage these guards. The list gives their number as 4,898. This list was first made use of by a learned academician of the end of the eighteenth century, J. J. Soares de Barros, who may be considered as the founder among us of demographic studies, after him coming Rebello da Silva. With the number of guards as a basis and taking as a proportion one guard for 213 inhabitants, the population of Portugal could be estimated as 1,043,277 for a territory equal to the present, since the occupation of Olivença and its district by Spain in 1801 did not appreciably alter the area of Portugal.

Adrien Balbi, a French traveler at the beginning of the nineteenth century, who wrote about Portugal abundantly and



sometimes accurately, estimated the population during the fifteenth century at 2,000,000, but without documents to support his views. Gama Barros, the most profound modern historian of Portuguese medieval history, raises it still higher, namely, to 3,000,000, and bases his estimate on considerations of much weight. Costa Lobo adopted a different plan. He carefully examined the census of 1527, the first to be carried out in the kingdom, by order of King João III., and studied the principal factors of decrease of population, wars, epidemics, famines, the expulsion of the Jews and the Moors, the overseas expeditions; and those of increase, as the birthrate growing with the means of subsistence, and the arrival of slaves from Africa. He came to the following conclusions for 1495, the year of the death of King João II.: 1,122,112 inhabitants, of whom 330,000 were available for the overseas enterprises. The population of much larger countries at this time was also very small; England with Wales, for instance, had but 3,000,000 inhabitants, according to Thorold, Rogers, and Hallam.

How was society organized? The possibility of such great geographical enterprises evidently depends closely on the conditions of society. It was these conditions which rendered them possible or impossible, difficult or easy, and as these audacious plans which, after the death of Prince Henry the Navigator were patronized by the reigning kings, ran counter to the people's love of ease and absorbed the economic resources of the country, while their compensating gains were doubtful, it became necessary for the kings to adapt the social conditions of the country to their overseas policy. And in fact at the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century one observes a development provoked by the strong hand of King João II. and King Manoel and supported by the general tendency of the renaissance. The classes, clergy, nobility, and people, which had contended with one another violently during the middle ages, were compelled to come to terms, in equal subjection to the throne; the fiscal and

administrative powers of the privileged classes were greatly diminished; the influence of the Holy See lost its sovereign control and the Church became the zealous supporter of the plans of the crown, especially in diplomatic difficulties. The cortes, summoned twenty-two times in the reign of King João I., became less and less frequent. From being a tribunal in which the classes presented their complaints to the king, they became the political instrument of royal aggrandisement and merely performed such formal acts as taking the oath of the heir to the throne. King João II. made use of parliament in order to take advantage of the grievances of the people to humble the nobility. The people in the sixteenth century, after the reform of the statutes (*foraes*) decreed by King Manoel I., lost a large part of the guarantees of their local autonomy. The introduction of the holy office in 1536 served to preserve the religious unity of the country and to arrest the economic and other predominance of the Jews. The introduction of the Society of Jesus in 1540 in the same way prevented the spread of Protestantism in Portugal and furnished courageous missionaries for the overseas conquests.

King Dinis had begun zealously to plant the country with trees, assisted by some convents belonging to the more active orders, as the Abbey of St. Bernard at Alcobaça, which drained marshes, planted pine forests, and stimulated agriculture in its vast domains. The same king led the way in using the wood produced in Portugal for naval construction, protecting the latter by wise decrees. He invited masters of the art of navigation to Portugal, the most illustrious of whom was Micer Manuel Pezagno, a Genoese. King Fernando continued to protect the navy, exempting it from certain taxes and encouraging the organization of maritime insurance, an institution which is essentially Portuguese. It was a Portuguese who first wrote on this subject, the celebrated Pedro Santerna of the sixteenth century, author of *Tractatus de Assecurationibus*. When the expeditions were still an un-

certain venture and yielded but trifling profits, their expense was borne by the monastic military order of Christ, which had succeeded to the property of the Templars by the Bull of 1319, after the extinction of the latter order as a consequence of the inquiry instituted by Philip the Fair of France. In the person of Prince Henry the grand mastership, which had been vested in the nobility, passed to the royal house and, at his death, to the reigning monarchs, a privilege which they retained ever after.

#### NAVAL CONSTRUCTION—THE NAVY

Historians have paid little attention to these technical details. Even in 1837-1840 Admiral Costa Quintella published his important work, *Annaes da Marinha Portuguesa das Origens a 1640*, without giving adequate space to naval construction. The inquirer who wished to go into this matter and was unable to undertake original research would have had to content himself with the passing allusions of the chroniclers and with artistic reconstructions such as the naval stories of Celestino Soares and Braz de Oliveira. It was the quatercentenary of the discovery of America by Columbus, in 1892, which gave occasion to some profound studies by Senhor Lopes de Mendonça. This learned writer had the good fortune to be able to publish two valuable manuscripts, the "Livro da Fabrica das Naos", by Fernão de Oliveira (1507-1581) and the "Livro Nautico ou Meio Pratico de Construcção de Navios e Galés Antigas". The former dates from the middle of the fifteenth century and is the work of a many-sided author. Fernão de Oliveira was a priest and a Dominican friar, persecuted by the Inquisition, which suspected him of being unorthodox, a humanist and translator of the *De re Rustica* of Columella; he was the author of the first grammar of the Portuguese language, an adventurer, captured by Turks and English, a theorist of maritime warfare, and author of the only treatise of the time on naval architecture



known today. The second manuscript belongs to the beginning of the seventeenth century. Comparing the two and the drawings of the period, contained in the *Livro das Fortalezas* of King Manoel I., one obtains an almost exhaustive knowledge of the processes of naval construction in the sixteenth century. These two manuscript works belong to the period of splendor of our navy. That by Fernão de Oliveira contains a kind of introduction concerning the antiquity of ships, which is unfortunately better informed about the navigation of the Greeks and Phœnicians than about that of the Portuguese of the preceding century. The first shipyards were, in chronological order, Oporto, Lisbon, Goa, and Cochin. The ships, built of corkwood, oak, holm-oak, chestnut, pine, cedar, and cypress, belonged to the following classes:

### *Sailing Ships*

*Nau*, a general term for large ships, which in the time of King Affonso V. were under a hundred tons, and in that of Manoel varied between five hundred and a thousand tons. The first great ship was named *Santa Catharina de Monte Sinay*, and was constructed at Cochin (1511-1513); it carried the Infanta Beatriz to Nice after her marriage with the duke of Savoy.

*Barca*, a little ship of small tonnage, with only one deck and one mast.

*Barcha*, a ship of high freeboard, apparently of Norse pattern.

*Barinela* and *Carraca*, likewise of foreign type, long and heavy, which came to be identified with trading vessels.

*Carracao* and *Carvelao*, types very well known.

*Urca*, a heavy boat of Flemish origin.

*Terfórea*, used for transporting horses, flat-bottomed and keelless.

The *galleon* made its appearance in 1519, with 1,000 tons, four masts, two decks, three times as long as it was broad,

the breadth being about 35 meters. At the prow it had a beak of iron or steel for boarding. It was in this way that the galleon *Bota-fogo* in 1535 broke the chains which defended the harbor of Goleta.

The *caravel*, well known by name since it passed into universal use, is one of the oldest designations for ships; it dates from the thirteenth century and was applied to small coasting vessels usually of three masts and less than 200 tons. Such vessels were used in coasting along Africa, in the expeditions sent out by Prince Henry.

In addition there were types of rowing vessels known generally in Portuguese as *fustalha*, which were by no means to be despised in a fight, mention of which will not be made here.

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Besides this rich vocabulary, our naval architecture gave rise to a special system of measurement. The *rumo*, which was the maximum diameter or beam of the ship, was equal to a fathom and multiple of a hand-breadth. Of the hand-breadth there were three kinds: the geometric *palmo*, four inches long, composed of *dedos*, each of which was equal to four grains of barley set side by side; the round *palmo*, being the distance from the end of the forefinger to the end of the thumb; and the Goa *palmo*, which added to the round *palmo* the first joint of the thumb.

Each ship of the India fleet carried an average of two hundred and fifty men, reckoning crew and passengers. From 1497 to 1527, during the first thirty years of the Portuguese Eastern Empire, 320 ships left Lisbon, transporting a total of 80,000 men. Of every fleet a careful list was kept, which described the fleet and all the crew, from the admiral to the humblest sailor. But archives of the overseas departments—the House of Guiné and Mina, the House of India and others—were destroyed by the earthquake of 1755. Fortunately not all traces of these fifteenth and sixteenth century lists, which are the key to a good part of our history, were lost. Senhor

Braamcamp Freire, who was a member of the British Royal Historical Society, with the help of a collection of consignments of biscuit for the ships, which he has discovered in the national archives of the Lisbon Torre do Tombo, reconstructed the entire complements of the fifty-three expeditions, large and small, which left Lisbon for Morocco and the west coast of Africa, as far as Mina, during the reign of King João II., from February 1488 to July 1489.

It seems that the so-called *Livros da Emmenta da Casa da India* only began to be carefully kept in 1503, the year in which also begins an anonymous summary of their contents, made in the second quarter of the eighteenth century and published by Senhor Braamcamp Freire. More detailed are two codices which have not been studied, which describe all the grants, governorships, fortresses, and voyages given and ordered by Kings Manoel, João III., Sebastião, and the three Philips, from 1512 to 1629. One of these valuable codices belongs to the dukes of Cadaval; the other was discovered recently by the author in the library of the marquis of Fronteira.

Portuguese history cannot be fully understood until these pages full of unpublished information have been deciphered, for they help to reconstruct the most important and interesting period of that history.

#### MAP-MAKING (CARTOGRAPHY) IN THE PORTUGUESE DISCOVERIES

Cartography and cartographer are hybrid neologisms unknown to Portuguese navigators of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Maker or master of sea maps was the name of the artificers who in this way collaborated with the navigators. It was the Portuguese who inaugurated scientific deep-sea navigation by the combined use of the compass, the astrolabe, and ocean maps, succeeding to the Mediterranean phase of navigation by the Genoese, Catalans, and Majorcans. It was

logical that the auxiliary art of map-making should now be impelled to progress far beyond the old coasting maps. In refutation of the contention that before the period of the discoveries the Portuguese had taken no part in map making, we can only point to an illuminated manuscript, the treatise of geography by the Cistercian monk Frei Balthazar de Villa Franca. The illustration represents the three continents, Europe, Asia, and Africa, surrounded by the great ocean and inhabited by the traditional races of the Old Testament. It is a record of the end of the thirteenth century, which belonged to the Abbey of Alcobaça and is now in the Lisbon Biblioteca Nacional.

The Portuguese school of cartography owed its existence to the patronage of Prince Henry the Navigator, who obtained the services of a specialist of Majorca called Jacome. All the historians of this art recognize the originality of the Portuguese school and some give to the system of cylindrical projection the name of "Prince Henry's projection". It is not absolutely certain that the invention of this process of map-making was due to the prince, but it is beyond a doubt that it was in his time and in the expeditions which he directed that maps of this kind, of 32 *rumos*, began to be used, those used for Mediterranean navigation having but 16 to 24. The characteristics of the Portuguese school of cartography which best indicate its originality are the following: (1) the employment of cylindrical projection; (2) the scale of latitudes, drawn at first in the lateral meridians; (3) league-marks to correct mistakes in the degrees of latitude, a device equivalent to the system of increased latitudes; (4) the division of the equator into leagues; (5) the Portuguese-Castilian boundary line according to the treaty of Tordesillas in 1494; (6) few indications on the continents, attention being absorbed by the seas and coasts; (7) many indications of the winds on the sea. Besides positive information, these maps contained many colored drawings of ships, fabulous animals, and views of cities,



which give them an appearance highly artistic. These maps were drawn on parchment, and a narrow neck of leather, the *lingueta*, served to tie the map when rolled up. Politics had something to say in the manufacture of these documents, the situation of lands being altered in order to appear within the zone of Portugal's possessions. Thus the map-makers moved North America far to the east and the Moluccas to the west, since their possession was disputed by Charles V. of Spain.

Despite the harshness of the laws, Portuguese cartography began to develop at the beginning of the sixteenth century, both in flat maps and in spheres or globes. There was a director of map-making, as is shown by the *Alvará da declaração das cartas de marear e defeza das pomas*, a decree of 1504 regulating the publication of these documents. This did not prevent the Duke of Ferrara, Hercules d'Este, from receiving in 1502 from Alberto Cantino, his special envoy at Lisbon, the famous world map known as the map of Cantino, designed by a Portuguese. It was the first Viscount Santarem who first realized the great importance of these maps for the history of the Portuguese discoveries.

Writing on the subject of the priority of the Portuguese navigators and composing the history of medieval cosmography, Viscount Santarem adorned his work with two celebrated atlases, those of 1842 and 1844. These atlases contain maps from the sixth century to the seventeenth, reproduced from originals in libraries which for the most part are not Portuguese, and they bring out clearly the contrast between the Portuguese method of projection and the earlier maps, as well as the record of new geographical knowledge as navigation developed.

Map-makers figure in large numbers in the dictionary of historical biography which Sousa Viterbo published under the title of *Trabalhos Nauticos dos Portugueses nos seculos XV e XVI*. Among them are Francisco Rodrigues, who was also a pilot and compiled an atlas of twenty-six maps, which already

record the passages revealed by navigation in the extreme east, the date of the atlas being 1524 to 1530; João Gomes and João Serrão, who accompanied and shared the labors of Afonso de Albuquerque; João de Lisboa, author of the *Tratados de Marinharia*, a collection of logs, soundings and instructions as to the use of the compass; Diogo Ribeiro, author of two world maps; the three Reineis who furnished the maps for the voyage of Fernam de Magalhaes (Magellan), Simão de Alcaçova, Gaspar Viegas, Lazaro Luis, whose *Livro de todo o Universo* is one of the treasures of the library of the Lisbon Academy of Sciences; Fernam Vaz Dourado, and many more who cannot be mentioned in a brief article. One may appreciate the wealth of monuments that still remain from the fact that in the exhibition of Portuguese cartography held at Lisbon in the years 1903-1904, under the auspices of the Geographical Society, 1,182 exhibits were shown. At the present time Senhor Duarte Leite, in refuting the theory of Spanish predecessors of Cabral in the discovery of Brazil is basing his work chiefly on the cartography of the period.

We now turn to a sketch, necessarily very summary, of the astronomical and nautical science of which the Portuguese could avail themselves and of the economic use to which Portugal put its new dominions.

#### NAUTICAL ASTRONOMY

Thanks to the important works of Senhor Joaquim Bensaude and Senhor Luciano Pereira da Salva, it is now established with certainty not only that the Portuguese realized these sea voyages, a fact which no one disputes, but that they laid the scientific basis of these voyages. This scientific basis certain German authors have refused to recognize, pretending that the Germans had exercised an important influence on the geographical discoveries of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and that the *Ephemerides* of Regiomontanus and the calculation of latitudes of his disciple Martin Behaim

were the basis of our nautical calculations. It is now an accepted fact that the Portuguese owed much more to the science of the Peninsula than to that of other countries. Already at the end of the middle ages precise knowledge requisite for navigation by astronomy existed in the Iberian Peninsula and the Portuguese later applied this knowledge on all the seas, thus continuing a genuine Iberian tradition and developing the rich astronomical knowledge contained in *Los Libros del Saber*, of King Alfonso the Wise.

The Portuguese phase extends from Prince Henry, who, like his brother King Duarte, personally studied astronomy and in 1431 founded a chair of astronomy at the university, to D. João de Castro, author of the celebrated *Roteiros* (logs); that is to say, from 1416 to 1541. Of this period the time of greatest intensity is that which begins with the *Regulamento do Astrolabio*, which must date from before 1485. Reliable information shows that the Portuguese made use of the following instruments: the *astrolabe*, with which they measured the height of the stars and "weighed the sun", that is, measured the sun's altitude at midday; the *quadrant*, used for similar measurements; the *cross-staff*, which only came into use in the second half of the sixteenth century and was principally employed in navigation under the southern cross, as D. João de Castro distinctly advised; and the *compass*. Minute manuscript instructions, only circulated with great reserve among experts, summarized the concrete knowledge obtained by previous navigation, such as reckoning by the north star, the altitude of the pole at midday, the tables of the sun, reckoning by the southern cross, the *toleta* of Marteloio, used in navigating with bowlines hauled, with contrary winds—a great advance in sailing—the reckoning by leagues, which recorded the distance traveled according to a fixed course and the distance from the meridian, corresponding to one degree of latitude; the tables of compass variation; the altitude of the east-west, as the latitude was then called; and the maps,

of which we have already spoken. These documents have only been known a very few years, since the only known printed examples were reproduced in facsimile by Senhor J. Bensaude, constituting a series of proofs for his work which is now a classic: *L'Astronomie nautique au Portugal au temps des grandes découvertes*. As to the manuscript instructions, a few are now known, for instance, those contained in the work entitled *Livro da Marinharia*, which belonged to the dukes of Cadaval. It contains the *Tratado da Agulha de Marear* by the pilot João de Lisboa, written in 1514, in which are studied the variations of the compass, and the science of north-east and north-west, according to the language of that time. Of the tides the celebrated Duarte Pacheco Pereira wrote in detail and with knowledge carefully based on experience in his *Esmeraldo de Situ Orbis*, in chapters known to have been composed in 1505. In general outline it is possible to form an idea of the logical and scientific sequence of the navigations, but important knowledge is still lacking on this phase of the history of the art of navigation, since it is not known what observations were taken in each of the principal voyages of trial and discovery.

It is known that in 1462 Diogo Gomez da Sintra determined latitudes by the polar star by means of the quadrant. When the equator was crossed in 1471 the pole star was lost to sight and ceased to be a guide and beacon. In 1485, José Vizinho in Guinea calculated latitudes by the sun and took the first known reckoning by the astrolabe. At the Cape of Good Hope in 1487-1489 Bartholomeu Diaz, its discoverer, also calculated latitudes by the sun, as did Vasco da Gama in 1497-1499 in the bay of St. Helena. In 1508, Americo Vespucci introduced reckoning by the astrolabe into Spain. The dates of the records of this *Regulamento*, Zacuto's *Almanach Perpetuo*, Faleiro's *Arte de Marear*, Pedro Nunez's *Tratado da Esphera*, Valentim Fernandez's *Reportorio dos Tempos*, mark important moments in this great period, which closes in 1541



with the experiments of D. João de Castro, who made the calculation of the longitudes independent of magnetic attraction. Since Duarte Pacheco Pereira, a sure knowledge of the tides had prevailed and their relation to the moon had been so well observed that the people knew practical rules to find the "golden number" of each year and the dominical letter to obtain the new moon. Pacheco Pereira also foresaw the principle of gravitation. Antonio Luis in 1540, in his work *De occultis proprietatibus* recorded some observations concerning universal attraction.

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The discovery of Brazil by Pedro Alvarez Cabral in 1500, for long considered a result of chance, due to an excessive deflection to the west of the fleet destined to India, is now looked upon as a deliberate feat of Alvarez Cabral, acting on secret instructions which he had received at Lisbon. This view is not altogether new, since in 1892, an officer of the Portuguese Navy, Baldaque da Silva, pointed out the technical improbability of such a chance, entailing an error inconceivable in the year 1500, when the Portuguese had nearly a century's experience in the art of navigation on the high seas and had already worked out its scientific basis. What is new is the view which makes this discovery of Brazil an episode in the three voyages which followed the treaty of Tordesillas. And in fact when King João II., in 1483, refused the services of Columbus, who proposed to reach India by the west, he had strong reasons for so doing, namely the confident prospect of reaching it soon by the south of Africa and also information concerning the western lands more positive than the visions of Columbus, whose knowledge indeed was confined to what he had learned from the Portuguese.

When, however, Columbus returned from his first voyage, after reaching the West Indies, which he mistook for India, the kings of Portugal wished to define legally their relations with an unexpected rival. Appealing to the pope, Spain obtained from Alexander VI. bulls granting to it the lands and

seas situated to the west of a meridian 310 miles (500,000 meters) distant from the Azores. King João II. protested against this, but in 1494 he ended by signing the treaty of Tordesillas, by which the western route to India was handed over to the Catholic Kings. This treaty was more favorable to Portugal, since it removed the dividing line between the two empires (the Portuguese and the growing empire of the Spanish) to a point 370 leagues distant from the westernmost island of Cape Verde. By this division the whole coast line of Brazil and vast regions of the northern hemisphere fell under Portuguese possession. It is thought today in Portugal that the Portuguese delegates insisted on this alteration because they knew of the existence of those continents and intended to explore them without delay. In the policy of the kings of Portugal in the matter of the discoveries nothing was left to chance. We may ignore the reason of their acts but new studies continually prove more and more their logical connection. Treaty

Before 1500, the date of Alvarez Cabral's discovery of Brazil, the following information existed concerning South America: (a) a letter of 1493 from the Catholic Kings to Columbus with a declaration that the Portuguese delegates to the conference believe in the existence of "islands and even terra firma" between the Cape of Good Hope and the dividing line of Pope Alexander VI.; (b) the text of the 1494 treaty of Tordesillas itself; (c) Duarte Pacheco Pereira in a passage of his *Esmeraldo de Situ Orbis* says that King Manoel in 1498 sent a fleet westward and discovered a large continent, with many adjacent islands, lying seventy degrees from the line of the equinox toward the north pole and twenty-eight degrees toward the Antarctic, a land of great riches and many inhabitants. These facts incline us to the belief that after the treaty of Tordesillas three expeditions were sent westward to explore the lands which King João II. had succeeded in including in

the Portuguese zone in Pope Alexander's division of the world still to be discovered.

These expeditions, however, did not interfere with the methodical quest of the eastern route to India, since in 1497 a fleet set out to discover the sea route beyond the Cape of Good Hope. The three expeditions would be the following: (1) in 1498, that of Duarte Pacheco Pereira, who had signed the treaty, an expedition which he himself indicates in his *Esmeraldo*: "Most fortunate Prince, we have known and seen how in the third year of your reign (King Manoel came to the throne in 1495) in the year of the Lord 1498, in which your Highness charged us to discover the western parts, passing beyond the vast ocean . . ."; (2) in 1500 the voyage of Pedro Alvarez Cabral to Brazil; he lands at Porto Seguro, sends back Gaspar de Lemos to inform the king of his discovery and himself proceeds to India; (3) in 1500, again, the expedition of the Cortereals to Newfoundland. In this way the discovery of Brazil would be a logical consequence of the plan of exploring the whole world, as seen in the Portuguese voyages of discovery, which were always thought out with admirable unity of design.

#### ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

For the agricultural and industrial development and commercial exploitation of the dominions incorporated, as a result of the maritime discoveries, in the possessions of the order of Christ, of Prince Henry and his successor Dom Fernando and later of the crown, the Portuguese adopted various systems according to the climate and geographical conditions of the various regions. The Island of Madeira was till the seventeenth century a great center for the production of cane sugar. Prince Henry, its owner, had the first sugarcane brought from Sicily and organized the industry in all its branches, cultivation, extraction, and refinement. The production increased and spread to other islands. Prince Henry kept a third part of the total production. The cultivation of cane sugar in

Madeira was an important event, since hitherto honey had been used for sweetening purposes in most countries of Europe. The first yield was destined as presents for princes, as an advertisement which caused the new product to be widely known; and, as the monopoly of its production never excluded foreign flags, many foreign ships put into Funchal to take on a cargo of sugar. It was not till the seventeenth century that the wine industry was introduced there.

The royal decree of 1498 is a kind of regulation of the sugar industry at Madeira and soon included the Azores.

The Guinea trade is the subject of a long chapter of the *Ordenações Manuelinas*, published in 1512-1521. It defines the relations with the mother country, forbids trade with foreigners without a royal license, and establishes the right of seizure at sea of ships found without this license. Tabasco pepper, held in high esteem before the pepper of India was known, ivory obtained in elephant hunts in the interior, and gold found in running water, wax, leather, and incense were the principal articles of this trade, which never attained the importance of that of other dominions. Nevertheless, the Guinea trade had a special customs house known first as the *Casa da Guiné* and afterwards as *Casa da Mina*, a title due to the mistaken belief of the Portuguese that there were gold mines in that region.

Much more important was the trade with India and more complicated. Here the Portuguese, arriving in a continent already enjoying an advanced civilization, confined themselves to the rôle of intermediaries and did not introduce cultures and industries as they had in Brazil.

To bring from India to Portugal and to distribute through Europe the products of the east was the part played by Portuguese trade with India. It was carried on by means of base factories in the east, the House of India at Lisbon, and the factory in Flanders. This trade was marked by three phases; those of the monopoly of the crown, farming out to private



persons, and concessions to private companies, a method which was subsequently adopted by the British.

The instructions (*regimento*) taken to India by Fernam Soarez in 1504 contain much interesting information on this subject. Barter, usual in Africa, was forbidden, goods were to be paid for in money; commission agents were forbidden, only the factors, that is, the king's agents, being allowed to buy, although never on their own account. When a certain freedom of trade was decreed by King Sabastião in 1577, commission agents were still excluded, and trade with private persons was confined to the ports of Cannanore, Chale, Cochin, and Coulão. Malacca was declared a free port.

The governors and viceroys of India were forbidden to grant licenses for the transport of eastern spices; they were to pay in money for services rendered, in order to avoid easily foreseen abuses. The Portuguese companies in the east have even now been very little studied. It is known that they arose from a system of contracts with private persons, who took other persons into partnership. Unfortunately those contracts, so important for the economic history of our colonies, are not known. The existence of four is known from Figueiredo Falcão's *Livro de toda a fazenda*. The first lasted from 1585 to 1592 and was made out in the name of João Baptista, who sent out thirty-eight ships, only twenty of which returned, with 90,087 quintals of pepper. The second contract lasted from 1593 to 1597 and was signed by Tomas Ximenez, of Madrid, and his partners. Twenty-eight ships were sent out, fourteen returned, with 46,563 quintals of pepper. Of the third and fourth contracts Figueiredo Falcão furnishes no details, merely recording the amount of the tax derived from the imported pepper, 5,610,761 cruzados.

It was in these voyages in the eastern seas that the use of maritime passports began, known to the Portuguese as *cartazes*.

The factory of Flanders has already had its chronicler in Senhor Anselmo Braamcamp Freire. He has shown that this establishment or commercial agency existed since the second quarter of the fifteenth century, when the commercial relations of Portugal with the Flemish were very close; but its importance dated from the discovery of the sea route to India, since this organized center of distribution was made use of in order to place on the market the exotic products now brought home in Portuguese ships. It was not always in the same city, but during its most active period it was at Antwerp, until in 1549 King João III. abolished it.

No mention of the other African dominions will be made here, because in the sixteenth century the volume of their trade with the mother country was of secondary importance, owing to unfavorable climate and the lack of roads to enable the hinterland to be occupied effectively.

The economic development of Brazil as a Portuguese colony from 1500 to 1808, when its ports were opened to foreign trade, has four principal phases: first, desultory exploitation without state supervision; secondly, that of private captains; thirdly, state monopoly; and fourthly, the organization of companies. During the first years there was no economic system of any kind: they are the years of the reign of King Manoel, whose thoughts were centered in the east, and the beginning of that of King João III. in whose reign began the colonization of that continent. From the system of captaincies it passed in 1549 into the control of the governors general, and the interests of the state could thus be better served, since the captains explored the country exclusively for their own profit and without any higher aim than that of their own advantage. The principal articles of trade were Brazil wood, which gave its name to the country, timber, the abundance and excellence of which enabled the furniture industry to reach a high degree of development in the reign of King João V., balsam, copaiba, vanilla, cloves, indigo, and cinnamon.

Among rich products acclimated by the colonists were sugar, introduced from Madeira, and coffee from Arabia. In 1695 the Sertanistas of São Paulo found the first samples of gold and the new and profitable industry of extracting gold arose, and after it that of diamonds and other precious stones. Of the total yield the government retained 20 per cent, the *quintas* (fifths) as they were called in the official language of the time.

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The economic exploitation of Brazil gave rise to an important problem, that of manual labor. At first this was solved by simply enslaving the Indians, of whom a few tame tribes existed, but the relations between the natives and colonists were not always peaceful, although they never attained the severity charged against the Spanish colonizers. As a result of the interference of the Society of Jesus and some governors general a complicated series of laws concerning the native inhabitants were enacted, and by degrees they were attracted to Christianity and a moral culture and habits of work which enabled them to coöperate with the colonists without any kind of compulsion. The system of companies belongs to modern times and falls without the limits of this slight sketch.

The system of exploitation was that classified by writers on the subject as a colonial contract which placed the colonies in close dependence on the mother country. It was thus well defined in a few lines by one of our theorists of this system, Azevedo Coutinho:

The mother country, by reason of that motherhood, must offer its daughters, the colonies, all the good offices and assistance required for the defense and security of their life and property, maintaining them in quiet possession and enjoyment of their life and property. These benefits demand corresponding concessions and even some sacrifices, and therefore the colonies must for their part bind themselves: (1) to trade with the mother country alone, to the exclusion of every other nation, however advantageous its offers; (2) not to possess manufactures, specifically of cotton (except looms of coarse cotton for native clothing), linen, wool, silk, and to obtain their own clothing exclusively from the manufactures and industry of the mother

country. In this way their legitimate interests and natural dependence will be closely related. In a word the more closely the interests and profits of the mother country are bound up with those of its colonies, the richer it will become, and the more it is indebted to its colonies the more prosperous and secure it will be. The creditor considers the debtor as part of his own estate, keeps an eye on him, helps him to recover and does not desire to ruin him further; the debtor, on the other hand, is less anxious to see his creditor and the more insolvent he grows the more he attempts to escape from him.

In modern times, Oliveira Martins took a very pessimistic view and allowed himself too readily to condemn the system. Meanwhile many documents, principally royal instructions and ordinances, saw the light and Senhor Almeida d'Eça in 1921 was able to give a general outline of the economic methods of Portuguese colonization.

Another aspect to consider in the history of the Portuguese discoveries is that of diplomacy, principally referring to the relations with Spain, our rival since the time of Columbus, and the papacy, then a general arbiter in disputes. Some of these differences were especially serious, as that of Torde-sillas, that concerning the Moluccas, and later that of the colony of Sacramento. Many are the points in this special subject which despite considerable progress of recent years, still contain material for a legion of students.

#### THE MOROCCAN ADVENTURE

The conquest of Ceuta in 1415 by King João I. and his sons, that "famous family of noble princes", as Camões calls them, was the beginning of the great era of our conquests and discoveries beyond the seas, and also of that Moroccan dream which Portugal was the first nation to entertain. The dream lasted 354 years, and was directed by the reigning sovereigns themselves, some of whom gave to it their personal exertions in military expeditions and one his life and the independence of his kingdom. The following are the chief landmarks in this stubborn adventure in Morocco: 1415, the conquest of



Ceuta; 1437, the failure at Tangier and the martyrdom of Prince Fernando; 1458, the capture of Alcacer-Ceguer by King Affonso V.; 1463-1464, fruitless attacks on Tangier; 1471, the capture of Arzilla and the voluntary surrender of Tangier; 1489, the construction, by order of King João II., of the fortress of Graciosa on the banks of the river Larache, abandoned shortly afterward; 1500, the construction of the royal castle opposite the island of Mogadore, by order of King Manoel I., and of that of Aguz to the south of Saffi; 1508, the capture of Saffi; 1513, the capture of Azamor; 1515, the beginning of the construction of a fort at the mouth of the river Fez, of which the natives prevented the completion, and the building of the fortress of Santa Cruz at Agadir, now Cape Guer; 1517, the attempt to take Targa; 1520, preparations for the conquest of Teutan.

This was the constructive period, lasting from the reign of King João I. to that of King Manoel I., the most active part and clearest political unity of design belonging to King Manoel and King Affonso V. The object was to dominate the Straits of Gibraltar, and restrain the piracy of the Moors, to obtain ports for Portuguese fleets cruising in the Atlantic, secure trade in slaves and other articles, and establish centers for the spread of the faith. The last item on the program was certainly not that which met with least success. The multiplication of fortresses was intended for mutual protection and control of unoccupied zones. With the object of sailing round Africa in view, our domination was intended to be confined chiefly to the Atlantic coast, this being at once the easier and more advantageous course. King João III., who inherited a large empire, gave comparatively little attention to Morocco, which represented the initial phase in the plan of expansion now in full development and which cost money and lives out of all proportion to the advantages accruing. The internal strife in Morocco had ceased, and the Moors now united in religion and politics, concentrated their efforts

against the foreign enemy and besieged our fortresses systematically with great persistence.

The decline began: Santa Cruz was recaptured from us in 1541; in 1542, we abandoned Saffi and Azamor, and in 1549, Arzilla and Alcacer-Ceguer; in 1578, King Sebastião, laying claim to the crown of Fez, was defeated and slain at Alcacer-Kibir. Ceuta, after the restoration of Portugal's independence in 1640, did not recognize this fact and remained Spanish; Tangier formed part of the dowry of Queen Catherine of Braganza in 1661 on the occasion of her marriage to King Charles II., who shortly afterward abandoned the town; Mazagao was voluntarily given up in 1769 in the reign of King Joseph under the government of the celebrated Marquis of Pombal. Sieges, sorties, assaults, and combats continually marked life in our fortresses, which were with reason called a school of war for Portuguese knights and captains and their careers in Asia and America.

Economically the Portuguese domination here yielded but little fruit, for the resistance of the hostile natives of Morocco prevented regular trade. To Portugal came Arab horses and leather articles, obtained with difficulty, and Portugal sent out to the fortresses all that was required by their garrisons. A few points, however, of importance for economic history, deserve mention: it was the Portuguese occupation which gave rise to the formal doctrine of contraband of war, expressed by Pope Nicholas V. in 1454, in the Bull *Cuncta climata* and in the *Ordenações Manuelinas*, a body of laws drawn up by King Manoel. The constant state of war necessitated the creation of a permanent service for the rescue of prisoners, known as that of the Mamposteiro Mor, in which certain humanitarian rules were established. By priority of conquest, also, we obtained exclusive fishing rights on the western coast of Morocco, which were recognized by Pope Nicholas V. in 1454 and in one of the treaties of Tordesillas in 1494. In modern times historical learning in Portugal, Spain,

and France has interested itself in the Portuguese domination of North Africa, and imaginative literature, from the pen of Senhor Lopes de Mendonça, a writer both nationalistic and patriotic, has found in this subject much artistic material. Such, in general outline, was our adventure in Morocco.

FIDELINO DE FIGUEREDO.

## BOOK REVIEWS

[Note: It is hoped that reviews of all notable books dealing with Hispanic America that were published from the time this REVIEW ceased publication and up to the present will ultimately appear in this section.]

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*España ante la independencia de los Estados Unidos.* By DR. JUAN F. YELA UTRILLA. 2 vols. 2d. ed., with additions. (Lérida [Spain]: Gráficos Academia Mariana. 1925.)

This is a work of capital importance to the student of the American Revolution. In two volumes containing nearly nine hundred well-filled pages, Dr. Yela lays before us his version of Spain's reluctant participation in the war begun by the rebellion of England's North American colonies. In the first volume, which is the longer of the two, we have a narrative account of Spanish policy from 1775 to 1784. The second volume contains selected documents from the Spanish archives.

A comparison with Conrotte's recent book on the same subject at once suggests itself. Dr. Yela does not leave the reader to his own devices in making this comparison. He tells us in the preface (p. 14) that, when he had already gathered the material for his book and had made some progress in the writing of it, the publication of Conrotte's study seemed at first to render all his labor useless; but that upon closer inspection he found that this was not at all the case. He then enumerates a few of Conrotte's errors, and continues throughout the first volume to point out in the minutest detail the errors of his fellow historian. To such an extent does he carry this kind of criticism that one is tempted to call it fault-finding. For example, Dr. Yela states (I. 457) that Conrotte's account of Jay's mission in Spain contains several "inexactitudes". The only proof he offers in support of this assertion is the revelation that a document which Conrotte describes as an autograph note by Floridablanca is in reality the draft (*minuta*) of a despatch by Floridablanca. Such a slip is of course



regrettable, but frankly what difference does it make? If Dr. Yela had shown how this apparently negligible slip led to grave consequences—*e.g.*, that the draft was discarded and a despatch of a totally different tenor sent in its place—we too should be duly exercised; but he does nothing of the kind. Conrotte cited this document accurately as to date and authorship, quoted it correctly, and interpreted it intelligently. We are naturally left in some doubt as to the gravity of Conrotte's "inexactitudes" at this and other points.

What is the relative value of these two books, written by fellow-countrymen, dealing with precisely the same subject, and published within two years of each other? (A limited edition of Yela's monograph appeared in 1922: I, i.) It cannot be denied that the faults of Conrotte's book are glaring. His sources were utterly inadequate, although he made extensive use of unpublished materials of great value in the Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid; and he sinned against the spirit of historical scholarship by failing to cite authorities. How did Dr. Yela profit by his forerunner's mistakes? His meticulously careful citations and his abundant footnotes give his work an authority that Conrotte's can never have; but his bibliography is lamentably incomplete. In it we find Livy, but numerous works more apposite to the subject are missing, among them Phillips's *The West in the Diplomacy of the Revolution*. Anyone who has attempted to work in even the best Spanish libraries, such as that of the Ateneo and the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid, knows the difficulties the student of history has to encounter in that country. Nevertheless, the fact remains that several indispensable works were not consulted in the preparation of this book, that its value is thereby seriously impaired, and that in this respect Dr. Yela has made no substantial advance over Conrotte. The result is that the writer fails to understand the part played by either France or the United States. He attempts, for instance, to justify Grimaldi's policy by asserting that the course of Vergennes throughout the first two years of the revolution was one of "most extraordinary fickleness and complete inconsistency". And yet the only source on the French side of which Dr. Yela seems to have made careful use is Doniol's monumental work.

It should also be pointed out that Dr. Yela gives only the scantiest attention to the diplomatic settlement. Of the 482 pages of narrative, 458 deal with the period up to Jay's departure from Madrid, in May,

1782, and the remaining 24 are made to suffice for the negotiations from that time until Gardoqui's appointment to the United States in 1784. There is only the barest mention of the extremely interesting problem of Floridablanca's policy after he learned of the preliminary treaty between the United States and England. Conrotte remains the authority on this period.

The index is worthless so far as the more important items are concerned, since they are followed by such general indications as *saepe*, *saepissime*, or *passim*, instead of by the numbers of the pages on which they occur.

At the same time it must be recognized that Dr. Yela has rendered the historical world an important service, especially in the publication of his volume of documents. The *dictámenes* or written opinions of the Spanish ministers on the advisability of entering the war are of great value, as are also the documents relating to the Spanish mission of "Sir Jay", as the Spaniards called John Jay, and Aranda's diary of his negotiations with Jay in Paris. Dr. Yela shows how powerfully the Portuguese issue influenced the attitude of the Spanish and French governments in regard to intervention in the war against England. Incidentally there is a great deal of information, some of it already published by Doniol, bearing on the considerations that led France to support the United States against England. On these and other points Dr. Yela makes available with archival citations a mass of information, a mine of Spanish gold for historians.

What is the conclusion of the matter? What contribution has Dr. Yela made to our understanding of Spanish policy in the face of the rise of the North American republic? His own curious statement of his conclusions is contained in the last sentence in his book (I. 485). This sentence, which he calls his *yo pequé* [*i.e.*, *peccavi*], runs to this effect:

I was once an extreme anglophobe. Today the study of Spanish policy in the reign of Charles III. has convinced me that Spanish interests would have prospered infinitely more had the Spanish government and people proceeded always in accord with the great English nation.

Even if the truth of such a category were the legitimate conclusion of a monograph, it has no justification in the preceding 484 pages of Dr. Yela's book. What has really happened to him is that his anglophobia has given way to gallophobia and americanophobia. "El peligro

Yanqui" ("The Yankee Menace") is written all over his narrative. It is found even in his index in "Yanquilandia." This prepossession distorts his vision and leads him to misrepresent the part played by the Americans. For example, he states repeatedly, in flat contradiction of the facts, that Jay while in Madrid promised verbally and in writing to surrender the navigation of the Mississippi, to be guided by Spain's wishes in that matter. On the contrary Jay warned Floridablanca—in a document published by Dr. Yela with a Spanish translation (II. 347)—that his offer to surrender the free navigation of the Mississippi was conditional upon Spain's immediate recognition of the independence of the United States and an immediate grant of effective aid to the Americans; and Jay further specified that if these conditions were not fulfilled, if Spain's recognition of American independence were postponed to the general peace, his proposition would not be considered binding. As every schoolboy knows, Spain did not recognize the independence of the United States during the war, nor did it grant the effective aid required by Jay. Hence there is no justification for Dr. Yela's repeated expressions of amazement at Jay's subsequent insistence on this right in the negotiations of 1782 at Paris, or for his insinuations that Jay was acting inconsistently or in bad faith.

We suspect that it was this same bias that led Dr. Yela to undertake the hopeless task of making it appear that Spain was really friendly to the United States. We encounter such a statement as the following (I. 454-456):

Despite the fact that Spain had not bound itself by any kind of agreement with the colonies, one sees continually in the [Spanish] correspondence the desire to carry the war to America in order to aid more directly the efforts of the Americans against their metropolis [England]; and if [Spain] did not succeed in coming to an understanding with Great Britain, the latter's refusal to recognise the independence of the American people was not the least of the obstacles [to such an understanding].

The manifest tendency of such a statement is to create the impression that the Spanish government was well disposed towards the United States. As a matter of fact, Floridablanca's hostility to the new republic stands out starkly in every page of the history of his relations with it, and could be proved by numerous citations from his correspondence and conversation as they appear in the works of Doniol, E. C. Phillips, and Dr. Yela himself.

The truth of the matter is that Spanish diplomacy in this period presents a picture of wasted opportunity, and as a patriotic Spaniard Dr. Yela finds it difficult to admit the bitter truth that Spanish ministers and Spanish traditions were chiefly responsible for Spain's failure to make the most of a promising situation. He is betrayed by a mistaken patriotism into representing Spain as the victim of French selfishness and Yankee ingratitude in the face of the plain facts that the faithful support by Vergennes of Spanish claims in the Mississippi Valley was in a large measure responsible for the alienation of the American peace commissioners and their separate negotiation with England, and that the Americans, having no reason to be grateful to Spain, could not be guilty of ingratitude. Dr. Yela himself suggests a more convincing explanation of the Spanish failure. In his concluding chapter he writes that the Spanish government's policy of delay and postponement involved it in a war with England without securing the friendship of the United States. Why was such a colossal blunder made by a government at whose head stood the able and patriotic Floridablanca? That is a question that the book under consideration leaves unanswered.

In conclusion, we may say that Dr. Yela's second volume is a contribution of permanent value, and that his first volume, if carefully controlled by previous works in the same field, will be found very useful until supplanted by a study based on a wider and more dispassionate use of the sources. His work is one of real merit, and we historians of "Yanquilandia" welcome the all too infrequent manifestations of Iberian interest in our common history. If there seems to be a certain coolness in the present welcome, it is only because of a conviction that a writer should be judged by what he attempts to do and that judged by this criterion Dr. Yela has not been altogether successful.

ARTHUR P. WHITAKER.

*The New Latin America.* By J. WARSHAW. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1922. Pp. xxi, 415. Price \$3.00.)

For a century past the Monroe doctrine has been the cornerstone of our foreign policy. Previous to 1914 our active participation in foreign affairs was confined largely to Hispanic America. Since that time, although our international relations have become more varied, our interest in the Hispanic American republics has increased.



We have, however, as Professor Warshaw states in his preface, been woefully ignorant of the peoples of these countries and of their economic conditions. Their lands have too often meant to us simply unsettled territory peopled with Indians. Our interest during recent years has led to the introduction of a number of courses in secondary schools and colleges dealing with Hispanic Americans and their civilization. Three important books in this field have appeared during 1922. But they have dealt with Hispanic America from either the historical or political point of view. Professor Warshaw endeavors "to present a faithful picture of progressive Latin America". He has succeeded in making a very usable book, one replete with information. We should know just such facts as this volume presents about our neighbors to the south.

This text, in fourteen chapters, discusses recent developments in Hispanic America, showing the progress being made in this part of the world. The endeavor is not so much to describe potential markets for our merchandise as to portray the civilization and culture of these lands. An appendix of forty pages (359-398) supplies in compendious form, information regarding size, population, language, and trade of the individual countries, as well as useful facts regarding trade routes, credit conditions, American branch banks, and publications. Excellent maps of South America, Central America, and Mexico, also a bibliography of some hundred books, are notable features. The material is well supplemented with photographs.

Having said this much, however, regarding the commendable features of the book, one cannot refrain from mentioning in some detail a feature of the book less worthy of commendation, namely, generalizations scattered throughout the book which do not appear to be warranted. To be sure these are sometimes matters of opinion, but facts do not always support the opinions expressed.

For instance, the author says (p. 6):

To say "native" is to classify Latin Americans with untutored subjects. "Natives" there are in Latin America: but they are in the negligible minority, and do not represent Latin America any more than our few "native" Indians represent us.

This is a remarkable statement in view of the fact that our Indians number approximately 341,000 (in 1922) or approximately one-third of 1 per cent, while the Indian or native element in Hispanic America

numbers eight million or approximately 10 per cent. This omits mention of 13 million mestizos (half-breeds). In Mexico alone, out of a total population of fifteen million, approximately six million are Indians, to say nothing of eight million mestizos; the populations of Paraguay, Bolivia, and Peru are predominately Indian. The native population is scarcely "a negligible minority" in any of the Hispanic American republics except Argentina, Uruguay, and Costa Rica.

On page 20 occurs the statement:

As in the United States it is to be expected that the Indian strain will disappear in a relatively short time through the increase in immigration.

Will the swallowing up of eight million Indians and thirteen million mestizos be such an easy thing in Hispanic America? For three centuries past immigration to Hispanic American countries has been slight, except to Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil. Even in these cases it is of the "golondrina" or migratory type, *i.e.*, large numbers of immigrants return to Italy or Spain after harvest time is over.

Again on page 21, Professor Warshaw says:

The Latin American undoubtedly works more minutes per day and harder per minute than the progressive citizen of the United States.

The reviewer, who has lived in Hispanic America, with all of his interest in, and admiration for, these peoples, can hardly agree with this statement. If it were true, then all our teaching about the stimulating effect of the temperate zone and the debilitating effect of the torrid is wrong. Then the Anglo-Saxon is not "energetic" nor the Latin "dilatatory". On page 293 Dr. Warshaw speaks of "the Latin American's traditional dread of honest physical work".

It is commendable to dispel fallacies only too prevalent regarding Hispanic America, but one wonders why the theater in Mexico City "is accounted the finest now in existence" (page 24), since it is not yet completed. Approximately five millions were spent on the magnificent edifice up to 1910, but little has been done since. Minus a portion of the roof and minus windows, only the Tiffany curtain and the stage machinery are usable at present.

Do "Havana and Buenos Aires receive and dispatch more merchandise annually than any other ports in the Western Hemisphere after New York" (page 25)? Commercial statistics show the

value of exports and imports from New Orleans, Philadelphia, Montreal, and Galveston to be much greater than those from Buenos Aires. Havana is surpassed also by Boston, Baltimore, Detroit, Norfolk, and San Francisco. Yet (page 326) Havana is called "the busiest port on the Western Hemisphere except New York".

Professor Warshaw makes some rather startling economic generalizations. On page 71, he says: "The evolution of Latin America can never be complete without a high development of the manufacturing industries." Dearth of coal and iron, of inventive genius, and of mechanical ingenuity militate against such a development. Tropical countries with fertile soil are likely to remain agricultural.

Again on page 81, he says:

The European War proved conclusively that the ultimate power resides in agriculture and its attendant basic supplies and exploded the fallacy—which appears to be commonly held under the Western scheme of civilization—that some great virtue inheres in the rapid using up of natural stores, such as fuel, minerals, grains, and the like.

Since when has Germany or England held that doctrine? Roosevelt certainly exploded it in America a decade before the European War, if it ever was held here. Conservation of natural resources has had popular support in the United States for two decades or more.

On the next page, he mentions " . . . the economic doctrine that local raw materials ought, whenever possible, to be manufactured on the ground. . . ." The reviewer is not acquainted with such an economic doctrine. The law of comparative cost implies that raw materials are converted into manufactures wherever the efficiency of labor is highest for that particular conversion. Certainly American cotton, Brazilian rubber, Cuban sugar, Indian hemp, Argentine hides, Australian wool, and Mexican oil do not substantiate the economic doctrine mentioned.

Statements of an economic character may not go without challenge on pages 15, 93-94, 307, and 308 (where no mention of changes in price levels is made); of a political character on pages 139, 141, and 183; of a sociological character on pages 208, 253, and 280.

Dr. Warshaw's book is well worth reading but obviously some of his economic dicta lack accuracy of statement. It is not necessary to overstate the case in favor of Hispanic America. These people have

many good points. Our inclination toward international intolerance has simply led us in the past to exaggerate their weaknesses.

HARRY T. COLLINGS.

January 12, 1923.

University of Pennsylvania.

*Causas y Consecuencias, Antecedentes diplomáticos y efectos de la guerra hispano americana.* By JUAN B. SOTO, Professor of Law in the University of Porto Rico. (San Juan: La Correspondencia de Puerto Rico, Inc., 1922. Pp. ix, 295.)

The title of this volume is rather inappropriate and misleading. It conveys to the reader the impression that the book contains a diplomatic account of the causes and consequences of the Spanish American War from the point of view of a political observer, scholar, or diplomatist. As contrasted with the contents of the book, this title "Causes and Consequences, Diplomatic antecedents and effects of the Spanish American War" is not entirely justified. To say the least, by the mere perusal of the preface, the reader is struck with the superficiality of the author's point of view and the absence of any definite purpose on his part to measure up to the task which would seem to be necessarily implied in the title selected for his book.

In respect to the "causes" of the Spanish American War, no attempt appears to have been made by him to search far back enough into diplomatic history in order to give us a comprehensive survey of diplomatic relations between the United States and Spain prior to 1896. No mention, therefore, is made of the long diplomatic friction and popular resentment and ill-feeling constantly developing between those two countries for nearly one and a half centuries previous to the Spanish American War in 1898. Indeed, no intimation is given of the fact that the Spanish American War was really the natural result and culmination of nearly one hundred and fifty years of diplomatic history characterized specially by the unprecedented growth of the United States and the political blunders of Spain.

As to the "consequences" of the war, this book is really disappointing, and so far as the present reviewer can see, there is in truth no justification for the use of that word in its title. If we are to judge by its contents, it would seem that the author was impressed merely with the most obvious results of the war, but had no idea of



undertaking a comprehensive discussion of the subject. There is, therefore, not even an attempt on his part to visualize the profound changes and far-reaching consequences of that war upon the national and international life of the United States and world politics in general. His effort is more in the nature of a local and inadequate survey of the new state of things created in the newly acquired territories and peoples coming under the jurisdiction or influence of the United States as a result of the Spanish American War, as contrasted, perhaps, with the condition of those territories and peoples under Spain.

In synthesis, the book purports to be an account of the revolutionary war in Cuba and diplomatic incidents between the United States and Spain immediately preceding the Spanish American War, beginning with the unsuccessful attempt of 1868, which ended in the agreement of "El Zanjón"—so recklessly dishonored by Spain—up to the treaty of Paris, which put a definite end to the Spanish colonial system in the western hemisphere. The volume also contains a brief account of the activities of the United States during the war, both in Cuba and Porto Rico as well as in the Philippine Islands, and a brief sketch of the proceedings of the conferences of Paris leading to the conclusion of the formal treaty of peace on December 10, 1898. In Chapter X there is a brief summary of the relations between Porto Rico and its former metropolis purporting to show the attitude of the Porto Rican people toward Spain at the time of the invasion of the island by the American forces. The last chapter deals with the American government of the island under the military régime, and the two organic acts enacted by congress for the civil government of that island.

The book is not entirely lacking in interest and contains quite a good deal of information and data which, if properly handled, might be very useful in a general discussion of the Spanish colonial system in America, especially in respect to the relations between Porto Rico and its old mother country; but very little indeed which cannot be found in other works accessible both in Spanish and in English literature.

In the opinion of the present reviewer, the book is rather loosely written, and while the author shows to be more or less acquainted with his subject, the discussions are inadequate and poorly supported by appropriate references to books and documents of standard value and authority. Nor is there any reference made to the sources from

which many of the quotations in the book are taken. It is true that, in the majority of cases, the reader who is conversant with the subject may easily trace them to "United States Foreign Relations for 1898"; but, at any rate, it would have been a good deal better to afford the average reader the opportunity to examine by himself the whole document or writing from which the quotation was taken, if he were so minded.

It cannot be denied, on the other hand, that throughout the pages of this volume there is a recrudescence and persistent endeavor to refute every conceivable charge brought against the United States in connection with the Spanish American War and its most extraordinary developments and results. It is to be regretted, however, that through inadequacy in the discussion, or perhaps too much eagerness to combat, the merit of the author's arguments is rendered quite doubtful or entirely negative. In this connection the reader is irresistibly reminded of Franklin's reference in his "Autobiography" to the arguments in certain books against Deism. "It happened," says the American printer and philosopher,

that they wrought an effect on me quite contrary to what was intended by them; for the arguments of the Deists which were quoted to be refuted, appeared to me much stronger than the refutations; in short, I soon became a thorough Deist.

As a matter of history, in respect to causes, purpose, methods, or results, the Spanish American War stands out as a monument to America's honor. It is needless, therefore, to engage in the refutation of charges which are neither justified by the temper of the American people nor warranted by historical facts. Imputations of imperialism against the United States are very numerous and very old. No one denies that we have had very noticeable imperialistic tendencies among certain classes of our citizens since the beginning of the Republic, nobody denies that we have them today; but those are not the tendencies of the American people as a whole. The real American sentiment was expressed by Mr. Root in a famous speech made at Rio de Janeiro in 1906, in the course of which he said:

We wish for no victories but those of peace; for no territory except our own; for no sovereignty except the sovereignty over ourselves. We deem the independence and equal rights of the smallest and weakest member of the family of nations entitled to as much respect as those of the greatest empire, and we deem the observance of that respect the chief guaranty of the weak against the oppres-

sion of the strong. We neither claim nor desire any rights or privileges or powers that we do not freely concede to every American Republic. We wish to increase our prosperity, to expand our trade, to grow in wealth, in wisdom, and in spirit, but our conception of the true way to accomplish this is not to pull down others and profit by their ruin, but to help all friends to a common prosperity and a common growth, that we may all become greater and stronger together.<sup>1</sup>

The advances of the United States on the Caribbean are not really due to any deliberate imperialistic purpose to control the destinies of the smaller and weaker republics of that turbulent region of this continent. As a matter of fact, which can be easily verified in each particular case, those advances are in truth the natural results of circumstances and conditions which have rendered them unavoidable upon solid grounds of self-protection and high principles of morality and order and to carry out in many instances the unselfish purpose of the United States to protect those very peoples against their own improvidence and help them along in their struggle for self-improvement and happiness.

Returning to the volume under review, it may be said, in conclusion, that a more modest title, more in consonance with the contents of the book, might have given this volume a greater value as a contribution to modern literature on the subject. As it is, the reader is compelled either to accept the title and forget the book, or to accept the book and forget its title.

PEDRO CAPÓ-RODRÍGUEZ.

Washington, D. C.  
1923.

*Napoleon's Navigation System: A Study of Trade Control during the Continental Blockade.* By FRANK EDGAR MELVIN. [University of Pennsylvania Study.] (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1919. Pp. XV, 449.)

This book is the result of an investigation that was begun at the University of Illinois and completed at the University of Pennsylvania. The author ransacked archives and libraries in the United States and Europe in his search for material. His theme was the evolution or the devolution of that system of licenses which, as Mahan suggested to English readers years ago, was Napoleon's subtle recourse against the Mistress of the Sea. Dr. Melvin presents a detailed

<sup>1</sup> Root, *Latin American and the United States*, p. 10.

account of Napoleon's attempt to counter England by the continental system and pays special attention to the development of the economic system which Napoleon aimed to utilize for the promotion of French industry and navigation, the policy "devised by a nation to control for its own interests its sea-borne trade". Not only is this monograph the most thorough investigation of the European ramifications of Napoleon's commercial and economic system that has yet been made, but it is also a contribution to United States history. At points it corrects and supplements Henry Adams. Various pages of the book touch upon Napoleon's policy toward Spain and Portugal. Little attention is given to Hispanic America; for that vast region seems to have been of importance during this epoch rather because it furnished some outlet for English commerce than because of its relation to Napoleon's navigation system. The chief defects of this book are the occasional failure to subordinate details to the general plan and the lack of suggestive generalization. Equipped with an extensive annotated bibliography it will long be useful to students investigating phases of Napoleon's economic policy.

WILLIAM SPENCE ROBERTSON.

Urbana,  
1922.

*Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States concerning the Independence of the Latin-American Nations.* Selected and arranged by William R. Manning, Ph.D., Division of Latin-American Affairs, Department of State. (New York: Oxford University Press, American Branch, 1925. 3 vols. Price \$15.00.)

These three generous volumes form a monumental work, and one most welcome to workers in Hispanic American history and international law, for the period they cover, namely, 1809-1830. The Division of International Law of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, under whose auspices they were published, and Dr. Manning have placed many under obligation to them: the first by the readiness with which it acted upon the suggestion made for their publication by the Endowment in 1916 by the Chilean scholar Alejandro Alvarez; the second, for his careful selection and editing of the documents. Since the inception of the work in 1917, many have awaited



impatiently the appearance of these volumes, which were delayed to some extent by the closing of the archives of the Department of State from 1917 to 1922 because of the late war. To quote Dr. James Brown Scott:

It is the earnest hope of the authorities of the Carnegie Endowment that these volumes containing documents of priceless value, which enable as they do, the Latin-American countries to trace the painful steps of their emancipation, will be accepted by them as an evidence of the friendly feeling of the people of the United States of North America; and that in carrying the project into effect the Endowment has accomplished, to quote Dr. Alvarez, "something of far-reaching effect, of scientific results and Pan American approximation"—something for which it really will, as prophesied by members of the Governing Board of the Pan American Union, "win the gratitude of Latin-America!"

The Director might have gone farther and made the feelings of gratitude cover the northern republic as well, for these documents go far toward removing many misconceptions of the attitude of our own country toward the aspirations of Hispanic America during its struggle for independence.

The first volume contains communications from the United States and Argentina; the second from Brazil, Central America, Chile, (Great) Colombia, and France; and the third from Great Britain, Mexico, the Netherlands, Peru, Russia, Spain, and Uruguay—in all 1191 separate documents. Dr. Manning's preface should be read carefully. "An effort has been made," he says,

to include . . . all of the more important diplomatic correspondence of the United States regarding the independence of the Latin-American countries.

For this reason, considerable material already published, especially in the *American State Papers*, has been included. By far the greater part, however, has been taken "from the original manuscripts preserved in the archives of the Department of State of the United States." During the course of the investigation about 430 bound manuscript volumes were examined. Unfortunately some important material which it is believed had reached the department, has not been found. Dr. Manning was fortunate in having assistance in the matter of selection from Mr. T. John Newton, who had been connected with the Bureau of Indexes and Archives for 48 years and better than any other person was familiar with the earlier portion of the archives.

In the arrangement and editing of the documents, the latest approved methods have been followed; and corrections have been made only in case of glaring and easily seen errors, and then only when the sense would be in no sense impaired.

Amid such a treasurehouse of riches it would be difficult to choose the most important documents. Among them are included instructions from the department of state to the ministers in various countries and to special agents, and the reports of both to Washington, letters to and from foreign envoys and agents, confidential reports of all sorts, estimates of the outstanding characters in the independence movement, and so on, from all of which one can gather pretty much of the whole story of the movement and of the times. The Monroe, Adams, Clay, Everett, Worthington, Poinsett, Todd, and Rush papers, to name only a few, are of great interest and value. The section on communications from Great Britain, with the considerable amount of Canning material, while it offers little that is new, will be read with a great deal of interest.

Taken as a whole, this work offers the most important contribution to our information relative to the independence movement, so far as the United States had any connection with it, that has yet appeared. One might wish that the index, although better than many indices in historical work, were more detailed. But aside from this there are few things to criticise. Dr. Manning has performed a huge task in a manner highly creditable to himself; and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in meeting the expenses of publication has performed a signal service.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

*The United States and Mexico*, by J. FRED RIPPY, PH.D., Associate Professor of History, University of Chicago. (Alfred A. Knopf, New York. 1926. Pp. xi, 401).

In this volume, Professor Rippy has, on an enlarged scale, fulfilled the rich promise of several excellent monographic studies of the diplomatic relations of the United States and Mexico. As a work of fine scholarship, it will be welcomed by specialists and students; and as a narrative, written with simplicity and clarity, it will doubtless be widely read by the interested public.

Professor Rippy informs the reader that his "general survey" is not evenly proportioned. As the period prior to 1846 had already been extensively treated by such writers as Justin H. Smith, Barker, Rives, Manning, E. D. Adams, Reeves, and others, he briefly summarized and interpreted it. The years following the accession to power of Porfirio Díaz "were marked in general by a pacific intercourse yielding comparatively little for the historian to record". And the non-availability of the important sources of information for the period of the contemporary social and political revolution, 1910-1920, made impossible a "final history" of those years. It follows that the intervening decades, 1848-1878, constituted the period to which the writer dedicated his intensive study, and to it the greatest space (pp. 47-310) of his work was devoted. Excepting the administrations of Buchanan and Lincoln, 1857-1865, we are told that the author drew his materials from primary sources and that he has "broken virgin soil" (p. viii). For periods not so fully treated, the author gave his "own brief" and illuminating "interpretation", and for those who wish to undertake additional study he provided reading references in a bibliography that was well selected.

In his first chapter and in the last, his "conclusion", Professor Rippy analyzes certain factors which influenced and perhaps determined the stormy relations of the two neighboring states. For our purposes we may list these two sets of factors jointly; and, briefly stated, they are as follows: "geographic proximity" and a long and shifting boundary which offers no effective natural barrier to intercourse, whether desirable or undesirable; the "superiority complex", as others have called it, suffered and indulged by the people of the United States; the expansionist and imperialistic impulses which, as General Jackson was alleged to have said, might urge the strong and aggressive United States to acquire territory by occupying it first and negotiating for it afterwards (p. 3); the possession by Mexico of "fabulous natural resources" under control of a weak, disorderly, and, oftentimes, a bankrupt government; the attitude and policies of European states, such as Spain, Great Britain, France, and Germany, which have from time to time caused apprehension either as a threat to Mexican independence or as a challenge to the influence and preponderance of the United States; and lastly certain interests, whether those of frontier traders or those of border ruffians, Indian

raiders, and filibusters or those of privileged *concessionaires* and claimants of damages and unpaid obligations. All of these factors are given attention, but the author makes, with reference to the last group, an indisputable and valuable contribution. Of the superior merit of his treatment of the period—1848-1878—there can be no doubt. Throughout, by abundant quotation from official and unofficial sources, Professor Rippey presents the oft-recurring expression of manifest destiny sentiments entertained by the United States with respect to Mexico; and, contrariwise, he impressively shows that suspicion as to the motives and practices of the government and people of the United States has rarely been absent from Mexican thought and consciousness. He shows also that, if Mexico has been and is being exploited by the United States, the exploiting interests have not always been united as to what should be done, that in certain crises this division has had in all probability, an important bearing on governmental policy.

The contemporary period is treated with modest and commendable restraint. On the whole, however, the author takes a favorable view of Wilson's Mexican policy—a view which many, whether friends or critics of the great Democrat, will doubtless consider too favorable. Wilson's courageous resistance to the clamor for armed intervention, his resistance to the demands and influence of vested interests, his stimulation of a public opinion in the United States with respect to Mexican affairs, his theoretical loyalty to democracy, and his adroit leadership deserve high praise. These principles and achievements, however, might well be considered apart from the merits or demerits of his "diplomatic interposition" in Mexico—a diplomatic interposition which could scarcely be said to have been limited to the giving of "moral assistance to a régime of constitutional order". To the reviewer, also, there seem to have been many and grave inconsistencies between Wilson's Mexican and his Caribbean policies, for both of which he was ultimately, though perhaps not immediately, responsible. But it might pertinently be observed that some of these considerations are outside the scope of this work.

Aside from other distinguished merits, this book is equipped with elaborate footnotes and an adequate and practical index.

WILLIAM WHATLEY PIERSON, JR.



*Homenaje que la Sociedad de Historia y Geografía tributa a ser socio honorario Don José Toribio Medina con ocasión de enterar cincuenta años de labor histórica y literaria.* (Santiago de Chile: Imprenta Cervantes, 1924. Pp. 452, 1 l. Port).

It seems to the present writer that the publication of homenajes, festschriften, and such memorial volumes constitutes a most graceful tribute and merited recognition of distinguished accomplishments in the field of scholarship. It is thus a pleasure to chronicle in these pages this tribute to Dr. José Toribio Medina, whose really extraordinary achievements in his chosen field of the colonial history and bibliography of Hispanic America have on more than one occasion been the subject of comment in the pages of this REVIEW. So extensive and indispensable are the various historical and bibliographical contributions of Dr. Medina, it seems well worth while to give the contents of the present volume which records his activities. The various items are as follows: 1. Acuerdos del consejo universitario y adhesiones de corporaciones y personalidades nacionales y extranjeras. 2. La prensa de Chile en el día de la fiesta. 3. La fiesta universitaria. 4. En la Argentina. 5. V. M. Chiappa, La obra de Medina. 6. D. Amunátegui Solar, Discurso. 7. A. Donoso, Conversando con don José Toribio Medina. 8. E. Vaïsse, Cuadro sintético de medio siglo de labor intelectual. 9. R. Dávila Silva, En los cincuenta años de publicista de don José Medina. 10. E. de la Cruz, Una impresión personal. 11. E. Orrego Vicuña, Medina y Harris. 12. R. E. Latcham, Los aborígenes de Chile por J. T. Medina—su valor científico en la actualidad. 13. C. E. Chapman, Una visita a don José T. Medina. 14. R. E. Valle, Jubileo del bibliófilo Medina. 15. L. Amesti Casal, Casas troncales de Colchaqua. 16. V. M. Chiappa, Catálogo de las publicaciones de don José T. Medina (1873-1914). 17. G. Feliú Cruz, Continuación del catálogo de V. M. Chiappa, seguida de una bibliografía. These are well worth reading for they show Medina from many angles, and express various types of appreciation.

C. K. JONES.

## NOTES AND COMMENT

### TRADE PROMOTION WORK IN LATIN AMERICA OF THE BUREAU OF FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC COMMERCE AT WASHINGTON<sup>1</sup>

The phenomenal rise of Latin America as an economic power has, in recent years, turned the attention of the entire world to its markets as a source of much needed raw materials and as an outlet for manufactured goods. A study of existing commercial intercourse of the countries composing the entity shows that a steadily expanding exchange of commodities with Europe and the United States has taken place, which has created a constant flow of foreign capital to their shores, resulting in a rapid development of their industries and a raising of their standards of living. The development of the region has never been more marked than during the past three years, nor has its prosperity ever been on a more stable basis than at the present time.

As an evidence of this material well-being—and, incidentally, of the result of the services rendered the business public by the various departments of the United States Government in building up commerce between the Americas—it is interesting to record that imports into the United States from Latin American countries, which were in 1914 valued at \$448,001,147, had risen in 1925 to \$1,039,518,888, or an increase of 132 per cent; and that United States exports to Latin America, which in 1914 amounted to \$301,730,580, had risen in 1925 to \$880,404,794, or an increase of 191 per cent.

Together with the expansion of commerce there has grown up a closer commercial relationship between Latin America and the United States, in order to foster which, the United States Government, through the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, has built up

<sup>1</sup> Especially prepared for this REVIEW by Rollo S. Smith of the Latin American Division, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce. Since the term "Latin American" is part of the official name of that Bureau, "Latin America" and "Latin American" are used throughout this item instead of "Hispanic America" and "Hispanic American".

a service of foreign trade information, which is proving of great value and effectiveness. The demands for more comprehensive and prompt dissemination of reports, created by rising standards in American business, are being met by the Bureau in the creation of new offices in Latin America and an increased personnel in those already established. It has at present well-equipped offices in charge of commercial attachés and trade commissioners in Buenos Aires, Argentina; Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, Brazil; Havana, Cuba; Mexico City, Mexico; Lima, Peru; Santiago, Chile; Montevideo, Uruguay; and Bogota, Colombia—the last two of which have been opened within the past three years. Plans are now being formulated for the creation in the coming fiscal year (1926-1927) of new offices in Panama City, Panama, and Caracas, Venezuela; and in northern Brazil. It should also be noted that an office has been opened in the former Spanish possession of Porto Rico, in the city of San Juan.

The financial resources of the United States in the past few years have been utilized liberally in loans to the governments of Latin America and in extending American enterprise in those countries. According to conservative estimate, the tangible and active investment of American capital in Latin America at the end of 1925 stood at slightly over \$4,000,000,000, of which sum \$3,000,000,000 consisted of investments in business and industry, while \$1,000,000,000 represented Latin American public securities held by American investors. In the year 1925 public securities from Latin America sold in the United States amounted to \$169,640,950, of which \$76,700,000 represented repayment of previous issues, making a net new investment of \$92,940,950. American investors are gradually becoming familiar with these securities and their field appears to be broadening. On the other hand, they are not yet putting money into native Latin American enterprises concerned with industry, transportation, or other forms of private business, except in a very conservative way. Practically all American industrial investments, as in sugar mills in Cuba, packing houses in Argentina, copper mines in Mexico, Chile, and Peru, nitrate plants in Chile, and the like, represent ventures under exclusively American control.

Thus there are two distinct phases to the application of American capital in Latin America. On the one hand, Americans buy public securities because of their confidence in the solvency and reliability of Latin American governments, and because they yield good rates of

interest and have generally proved profitable investments for those who subscribed to the original issues. On the other hand, many of the largest corporations in the United States have found it advisable to extend their operations into Latin America, for the purpose of balancing their organization, assuring a supply of materials which they need for the sake of diversity or uniformity, as the case may be, or complementing their equipment of facilities in such a way as to better their position in domestic or international trade.

A number of raw material surveys have been made by agents of the United States Government in Latin America since 1923. A notable instance of this service was the investigation made in the latter part of 1923 and early months of 1924 by a special field party, under authorization of Congress, and headed by Dr. William L. Schurz, the Bureau's Commercial Attaché at Rio de Janeiro, of the possibilities of developing the rubber plantation industry in the Amazon Valley. A report of this visit was written up by Dr. Schurz in collaboration with O. D. Hargis, Special Agent of the Department of Commerce, C. F. Marbut, Chief, Division of Soil Survey, and C. B. Manifold, Soil Surveyor, of the Department of Agriculture, and is now available as Trade Promotion Series No. 23, *Rubber Production in the Amazon Valley*. Other parties were sent to Central America and the north coast of South America to make similar investigations of rubber possibilities there. A report of these studies, which will include similar information relative to Mexico, is in process of preparation and will soon be published in one of the Bureau's Trade Promotion Series, under the title, *Possibilities of Para Rubber Production in Northern Tropical America*.

An economic study was made of the henequen industry in Mexico in 1923 and the findings recorded in Trade Information Bulletin, No. 200, entitled *Sisal Production, Prices and Marketing*.

A further outstanding raw material investigation was the field study of the nitrate industry in Chile made in the summer of 1923, by Dr. H. Foster Bain, Director of the Bureau of Mines. The results, which deal with the cost of producing and marketing Chilean nitrate and the possible variations which might be expected in each of the factors which determine the cost of this material, were given in Trade Information Bulletin No. 170, of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, entitled *Nitrogen Survey, Part I*.



A number of valuable works have been prepared by financial experts connected with the Bureau, among which the more recent and notable are: Special Agents Series, No. 224, *Chilean Public Finance*; Trade Promotion Series, No. 6, *Bolivian Public Finance*; Trade Promotion Series, No. 30, *Peruvian Public Finance*; Trade Information Bulletin, No. 362, *Investments in Latin America: 1, Argentina*; Trade Information Bulletin, No. 382, *Investments in Latin America: 2, Uruguay and Paraguay*; Trade Information Bulletin, No. 316, *Foreign Exchange in Latin America*. A study of Colombian Public Finance has been completed and will be available in the near future in the form of a Trade Information Bulletin.

A list of other publications of the Bureau issued in recent years which are deserving of special mention is appended at the close of this article.

Current issues of *Commerce Reports*, the Bureau's weekly survey of foreign trade, have been carrying many notable articles on American economic problems, a few of the more outstanding being, with the dates of their appearance: "Industrial Progress in Brazil," 7-13-25; "Latin American Trade for the Fiscal Year," 8-24-25; "The Pulp and Paper Industry of Brazil," 9-28-25; "United States Textile Exports to Latin America," 10-12-25; "Mexico's Import Trade in Textiles," 10-26-25; "The Mexican Petroleum Industry," 11-16-25; "Progress of Road Construction in South America," 1-18-26; "United States Trade with Latin America," 2-1-26; "Our West Indian Trade," 2-22-26; "1925 Trade Results with Latin America," 3-1-26; "United States Trade with the Caribbean Countries," 3-8-26; "Sao Paulo, the Industrial Metropolis of South America," 4-12-26; "Valparaiso, A Commercial Gateway of the South Pacific," 4-26-26; and "Rosario—Argentina's Chief Grain Port," 4-19-26.

Recent outstanding publications are as follows:

#### SPECIAL AGENTS SERIES

199. Paraguay: Commercial Handbook, by W. L. Schurz, 1920; price, 40 cents.
206. Colombia: Commercial and Industrial Handbook, by P. L. Bell, 1921; price, 70 cents.
208. Bolivia: Commercial and Industrial Handbook, by W. L. Schurz, 1921; price, 65 cents.
212. Venezuela: Commercial and Industrial Handbook, with Chapter on the Dutch West Indies, by P. L. Bell, 1922; price, \$1.00.

- 220. Mexican West Coast and Lower California: Commercial and Industrial Handbook, by P. L. Bell, 1923; price, 85 cents.
- 224. Chilean Public Finance, by Charles A. McQueen, 1924; price, 15 cents.

## MISCELLANEOUS SERIES

- 89. Commercial Travelers' Guide to Latin America, by E. B. Filsinger, 1922; price, \$1.25. (A revision of this Guide is now in the hands of the printer and will be available shortly.)—[As this number of the REVIEW goes to press it is learned that this revision has been published.—Ed.]

## TRADE PROMOTION SERIES

- 5. Railways of Central America and the West Indies, by W. Rodney Long, 1925; price, 70 cents.
- 6. Bolivian Public Finance, by Charles A. McQueen, 1925; price, 20 cents.
- 16. Railways in Mexico, by W. Rodney Long, 1925; price, 35 cents.
- 18. Motor Roads in Latin America, by Frank L. Curran, 1925; price, 50 cents.
- 23. Rubber Production in the Amazon Valley, by W. L. Schurz, O. D. Hargis, C. F. Marbut, and C. B. Manifold, 1925; price, 65 cents.
- 25. Peru: Commercial and Industrial Handbook, by W. E. Dunn, 1925; price, \$1.25.
- 30. Peruvian Public Finance, by Charles A. McQueen, 1925; price, 20 cents.
- 32. Railways of Argentina, by W. Rodney Long, 1926. In press.

Trade Information Bulletins, relating specifically to Latin America, have been issued by the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce since January 1, 1923. Those up to No. 324, and which are not exhausted, are for free distribution. The later ones are for distribution by sale only, at 10 cents per copy:

- 81. Argentine Petroleum Industry and Trade; 1923. (Exhausted.)
- 82. Textile Markets of Cuba; 1923. (Exhausted.)
- 84. Argentine Market for Motor Vehicles; 1923. (Exhausted.)
- 92. Parana Pine Lumber Industry of Brazil; 1923. (Exhausted.)
- 95. Cotton Industry of Peru; 1923.
- 101. Market for Construction Materials in Brazil; 1923.
- 107. Methods of Handling American Lumber Imports in South America; 1923.
- 109. Methods of Handling Lumber Imports in Canada, Mexico, Central America, and West Indies; 1923. (Exhausted.)
- 112. Protesting Drafts in Latin America: 1, General Aspects of Subject; 1923. (Exhausted.)
- 113. Protesting Drafts in Latin America: 2, South American Countries; 1923. (Exhausted.)
- 114. Protesting Drafts in Latin America: 3, Mexico and Central America; 1923. (Exhausted.)

115. *Protesting Drafts in Latin America: 4, Cuba and Other West Indies; 1923.* (Exhausted.)
116. *Office Supplies in Brazil; 1923.*
118. *Legal Aspects of Construction Enterprises in Latin America. With Survey of Laws on Incorporation and Registration of Companies, Taxation, and Employers' Liability for Injury to Workmen; 1923.* (Exhausted.)
126. *Bankruptcy and Insolvency Laws of Argentina; 1923.* (Exhausted.)
127. *Brazilian Market for Paper and Paper Products; 1923.* (Exhausted.)
134. *Consignment Laws of Chile and Bolivia; 1923.*
148. *States of Brazil; 1923.* (Exhausted.)
156. *Economic Development in Argentina since 1921; 1923.* (Exhausted.)
158. *British Honduras: Brief Review of its Resources, Trade, and Industry; 1923.* (Exhausted.)
159. *Economic Conditions in Cuba; 1923.* (Exhausted.)
162. *Principal Features of Chilean Finances; 1923.* (Exhausted.)
165. *Market for Prepared Medicines in Brazil; 1923.* (Exhausted.)
168. *Markets for Paper and Paper Products in Chile and Peru; 1923.* (Exhausted.)
170. *Nitrogen Survey; Part 1, Cost of Chilean Nitrate; 1923.* (Exhausted.)
178. *Petroleum Industry and Trade of Peru and Ecuador; 1924.*
191. *Cuban Economic Improvement; 1924.*
192. *Cuban Market for Paper and Paper Products; 1924.*
193. *Honduras; 1924.*
194. *Bolivian Public Debt, with Survey of Bolivian Financial History; 1924.*
198. *Road Construction in Peru; 1924.*
200. *Sisal Production, Prices, and Marketing; 1924.*
201. *Bolivian Fiscal System: Revenue, Expenditure, and Taxation.* (Exhausted.)
207. *Currency, Exchange, and Banking in Bolivia; 1924.*
214. *Mexican Market for Paper and Paper Products; 1924.*
219. *Trade-Mark Protection in Latin America; 1924.* (Exhausted.)
223. *Colombia: Commerce and Industries, 1922 and 1923; 1924.*
224. *United States Trade with Latin America in 1923; 1924.* (Exhausted.)
232. *Latin American Market for Sporting and Athletic Goods; 1924.*
242. *Trading under Laws of Argentina; 1924.*
250. *Shipment of Samples and Advertising Matter to Latin America and West Indies; 1924.*
255. *Nicaragua: Review of Commerce and Industries, 1918-1923.*
257. *Republic of Panama; 1924.*
259. *Brazil Nut or Castanha Industry; 1924.*
260. *Non-intoxicating Beverages in Latin America; 1924.*
264. *Haiti: Economic Survey; 1924.*
274. *Markets of Southern Chile; 1924.*
275. *Coal Markets of Brazil; 1924.*

279. Markets for Flour in Central America; 1924.
281. Budgets of Latin American Countries; 1924.
284. Brazil: Trade Review for 1923; 1924.
296. Trading Under Laws of Brazil; 1924. (Exhausted.)
304. Shipping of West and East Coast of South America with United States and Europe; 1924.
306. Mexico as a Market for United States Goods; 1925.
307. Foreign Markets for Confectionery: 1, Latin America; 1925.
311. Petroleum in Brazil; 1925.
316. Foreign Exchange in Latin America; 1925.
320. Merchandising Methods and Trade Conditions in Amazon Valley; 1925.
324. Forest Resources and Lumber Industry in Chile; 1925.
325. Cuban Market for American Foodstuffs; 1925.
329. Caribbean Markets for American Goods: 1, Central America; 1924.
341. Paints, Pigments, and Varnishes in West Indies; 1925.
342. Caribbean Markets for American Goods: 2, Colombia; 1925.
343. Trading under Laws of Cuba; 1925.
345. United States Trade with Latin America in 1924; 1925.
346. Caribbean Markets for American Goods: 3, Cuba; 1925.
349. Brazil: Economic Review by States; 1925.
351. Markets of Northern Chile; 1925.
352. Caribbean Markets for American Goods: 4, West Indies; 1925.
357. Caribbean Markets for American Goods: 5, Venezuela; 1925.
360. Markets of Bolivia; 1925.
362. Investments in Latin America: 1, Argentina; 1925.
366. Markets for Agricultural Implements and Farm Machinery in Argentina and Uruguay; 1925.
379. Selling in Brazil; 1925.
380. Mexican Market for United States Foodstuffs; 1925.
381. Travel Routes and Costs in South America; 1925.
382. Investments in Latin America: 2, Uruguay and Paraguay; 1926.
383. Machinery Markets of Brazil; 1926.
384. Argentine Markets for United States Goods; 1926.
402. Caribbean Markets for American Goods: 6, Porto Rico; 1926.
403. The Uruguayan Market; 1926.
405. Markets of the Dutch West Indies; 1926.

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In December, 1925, Dr. Leo S. Rowe, Director of the Pan American Union, appointed a committee of historians to make a survey of the teaching of Hispanic American history in the colleges, normal schools, and universities of the United States. This committee is composed of Professors Paul N. Garber, Duke University; J. Fred Rippey, University of Chicago [now Duke University]; William W. Piereson, Jr., University of North Carolina; James A. Robertson,



Stetson University; and William S. Robertson, University of Illinois. The first meeting of this committee was held immediately after its appointment, at Ann Arbor, and Professor W. S. Robertson was chosen chairman. The committee has sent a carefully prepared questionnaire to a long list of educational institutions, many illuminating replies have been received, and a supplementary inquiry has been dispatched to those institutions which did not respond to the first query. A summary of the results obtained will be printed in the *Bulletin of the Pan American Union*, while the HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW will later publish a longer report. It is expected that this inquiry will yield valuable results in the stimulation of the study of Hispanic-American history throughout the United States as well as in the collection of data concerning the ways and means by which that teaching may be improved.

John Tate Lanning, A.B., Duke University, 1924, is taking his Ph.D. at the University of California. Mr. Tate has been appointed to one of the fellowships of the Sons of the Golden West and will spend the coming year in Europe. He is working on Caribbean and International Politics.

Dr. Herbert E. Bolton of the University of California goes to the University of Utah for the summer session. Dr. Charles E. Chapman will teach in the University of Michigan summer school. Professor Meacham spent the past academic year at Texas while Professor Charles W. Hackett was at Harvard. Professor Aiton will be at the University of California for the summer. Dr. J. Fred Rippy, who appears for the first time as a member of the editorial staff of this REVIEW, spent the past year at Stanford while Professor Percy A. Martin was in Europe and South America. The former has accepted a call to Duke University to organize and take charge of the work in Hispanic American history. Professor Herbert Ingram Priestley, of California, spent several months in Mexico during the spring and summer, and as this is written it is announced that he will discuss Mexican affairs in Chicago in July.

Dr. Charles W. Hackett, of the University of Texas (who has been lecturing in Harvard this year), and one of the editors of this REVIEW, has been appointed delegate to the Panama Centenary Congress by the United States. The other two delegates are John Glover South,

minister to Panama, and William Jennings Price, former minister to Panama.

The return of the Spanish transatlantic fliers to Seville recently after a most successful pioneer voyage was made notable by the reception accorded them. The spirit of the celebration fittingly rendered to these men is seen in the following excerpt from a contemporary description: "For the inhabitants of Southern Spain it has probably eclipsed any of the significant episodes of the European war, and takes its place in the annals of Spanish history. Franco and his comrades, duplicating the feat of their precursor Columbus, even to setting forth from the port, covering similar though not identical territory, and returning again to the small town of Palos, have stirred the imagination of their fellow-countrymen. The successful flight reflects the daring spirit of the conquistadores and make known to the world that the embers of a once mighty nation are still aglow." The principal square of Palos was dedicated to Franco, and he and his companions were received and congratulated by the kings and others. At the famous monastery of La Rábida a meeting of the Columbus Society was held, and on this occasion the king spoke as follows:

The flight has been the fruit of a union of science with labor and abnegation. Spain discovered America but then she lost what is now coming to life again—her ancient vitality. Today, America realizes this vitality of Spain because four valiant Spanish soldiers, charged with demonstrating this fact, have accomplished a great deed to their everlasting memory. The future of Spain will be great because it has already been seen how much four men can do who know how to co-operate and to understand each other. Franco has achieved a most difficult task in harmonizing labor with the army. . . . Love of country should be, is above all other thoughts; for her, monarchists and republicans, catholics and atheists should join together, basing all their actions on the ideal of the mother country. And now America has seen these Spaniards come to her, possessed only of their airplane, their route, and the medals on their breasts, to say to the new world: "Spain, who discovered you, has been ill but now recovered she returns again to inspire you with the spirit of the genius of the race. Spain has been for America what America is today for Europe. From you must come peace, and this peace will be much better than what is brewed in Geneva where only a few peoples can obtain seats in the Council of the League of Nations. We love peace, progress and liberty. And this is the significance and meaning of the flight of the PLUS ULTRA.

The decorations in the Mexican Embassy in Washington are after the old Aztec and present a harmonious and beautiful effect. One of

the striking phenomena in modern Mexican life is the increasing use that is being made of the old culture.

The University of Pennsylvania Bulletin for 1926-1927 announces that a survey course in Hispanic American history will be introduced by Assistant Professor Roy F. Nichols.

*Inter-America* for June, 1926, contains an obituary notice on Dr. Peter H. Goldsmith, whose death occurred on April 8 of this year. Dr. Goldsmith was the director of the Interamerican section of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and director and editor of *Inter-America*. Beyond the lot of most men, he was an instrument for service. Of *Inter-America* he made a far reaching organ for friendliness among all the American nations. His work can not come to an end, but must go on; and in the day when a real Panamericanism is ushered in, the name of Peter Goldsmith will stand among those most honored.

A special committee of the American Historical Association on the centennial of the Panamá Congress consists of the following members of the American Historical Association:

William R. Shepherd, *Chairman*, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.; Reginald F. Arragon, Reed College, Portland Oregon; Herbert E. Bolton, University of California, Berkeley, California; Charles E. Chapman, University of California, Berkeley, California; Paul N. Garber, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina; Charles W. Hackett, University of Texas, Austin, Texas; Clarence H. Haring, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts; Herman G. James, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Nebraska; Percy A. Martin, Stanford University, California; William W. Pierson, Jr., University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina; Herbert I. Priestley, University of California, Berkeley, California; J. Fred Rippey, University of Chicago, Illinois (now of Duke University); James A. Robertson, John B. Stetson University, DeLand, Florida; William S. Robertson, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois.

Through the generous offer of Dr. L. S. Rowe, director of the Pan American Union in Washington, the Librarian, Mr. Charles A. Babcock, will send to the HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW daily the list of new accessions to the library of the Union. This act of

courtesy and coöperation will greatly facilitate the compilation of the bibliographical lists of recent publications which appear in each number of this REVIEW.

The Comisión Protectora de Bibliotecas Populares of Argentina is doing a most important work. The Commission is distributing among various institutions or to persons outside of Argentina books dealing with various phases of Argentinian intellectual activities. These include works on law, history, economics, literature, sociology, and other activities. One of the ideals of the Commission is "the strengthening of the relations among the various nations and peoples of the Americas". With a better acquaintance among all the American nations, it will be easier for all to realize the ideals of fraternity and of the higher civilization which were aimed at by the liberators "in the glorious hour of continental emancipation". This is a movement that could well be imitated by all the other American countries.

At the annual meeting of the National Honorary History Fraternity, Phi Alpha Theta, held at Pittsburgh on March 20, 1926, James A. Robertson delivered the annual address. His subject was "The importance of the study of Hispanic American history". At that time, Dr. Robertson was made an honorary member of the fraternity. Dr. N. Andrew N. Clevon is permanent honorary president of the organization.



## BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SECTION

### HISPANIC AMERICAN BIBLIOGRAPHIES

The titles here given are intended as additions to *Hispanic American Bibliographies* published by THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW in its third and fourth volumes, and in book form in 1922. Owing to pressure of work, the compiler has not been able to examine current material as thoroughly as he would have liked, and in consequence, many omissions may be noted. These, he hopes will be picked up for publication in future supplemental lists in this REVIEW. To this end, he repeats his request for information regarding bibliographical and biographical material that has escaped his notice.

C. K. JONES.

Washington, D. C.  
June, 1926.

1. Academia de la historia de Cuba. La vida de la Academia de la historia (1910-1924); memoria leída por el secretario Dr. Juan Miguel Dihigo y Mestre y Pedro Figueredo, discurso del académico de número coronel Fernando Figueredo Socarrás, leído por el académico de número Dr. Antonio L. Valverde y Maruri. Habana, Impr. "El Siglo XX," 1924.

118 p., 1 1 pl., facsims.

2. Aguayo, Alfredo M. La Universidad y sus problemas; discurso inaugural del curso académico de 1921 a 1922. Habana, Impr. "El Siglo XX," 1921.

110 p. 23 1/2 cm.

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3. Agüeros de la Portilla, Agustín. El periodismo en México durante la dominación española; notas históricas, biográficas y bibliográficas.

(In Anales del Museo de arqueología, historia y etnología. México, 1911. t. II, p. 355-465.)

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97 p.

Edición del Boletín minero órgano del Departamento de Minas.

5. Aiton, Arthur S. The Archivo general de Indias, by Arthur S. Aiton and J. Lloyd Meacham.

(In Hispanic American historical review. Baltimore, 1921. 27 cm. v. 4, p. 553-567.)

6. Albornoz, M. A. Algo sobre el movimiento literario nacional en la primera centuria de la independencia.

(In Revista de la Sociedad jurídico-literaria de Quito. 1922, v. xxvi, p. 53-90.)

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11. Andrade, Vicente de Paula. Los capitulares de la Santa iglesia catedral de Michoacán desde su fundación hasta hoy. Mexico, Tip. carmelitana, 1901.

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(*In* *Inter-America*. English. New York, Doubleday, Page & Co., 1919. v. iii, p. 144-156.)
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16. Anzures, Rafael. Los héroes de la independencia; colección de biografías. Tlaxcala, 1909.  
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(*In Revista de la Universidad de Buenos Aires*. Buenos Aires, 1919. año xvi, t. 41-42, p. 165-195.)
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America. New York, American geographical society, 1922.  
iv, 192 p. map.
285. Thayer Ojeda, Tomás. Reseña histórico-biográfica de los eclesi-  
ásticos en el descubrimiento y conquista de Chile.  
(In *Revista chilena de historia y geografía*. Santiago de Chile, 192. año xi.  
t. xxxviii-.)
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(1828-1852).  
(In *Juegos florales, veredicto del jurado, discurso del mantenedor, trabajos  
premiados*. Tucumán, 1916. p. 107-227.)  
Contains a chronological list, with bibliographical data, of newspapers and  
periodicals of Buenos Aires and the provinces during the Rosas régime.
287. Toro, Alfonso. El Dr. Dn. Agustín Rivera y San Román.  
Biografía por . . . Don Alfonso Toro; bibliografía por  
. . . D. Juan B. Iguíniz. México, Talleres linotip. de "Re-  
vista de revistas", 1917.  
86 p. incl. port.
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para el estudio del derecho constitucional mexicano.  
(In *Biblioteca jurídica mexicana*. Mexico, 1901. v. 1, p. 1-8.)
289. Torres, Luis María. Dr. Francisco P. Moreno, fundador y  
primer director del Museo nacional de La Plata; noticia bio-  
bibliográfica. Buenos Aires, 1921.  
18 p. port.  
From *Revista del Museo de la Plata*, t. 26.
290. Tozzer, Alfred Marston. A Maya grammar, with bibliography  
and appraisal of the works noted. Cambridge, Mass., 1921.  
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and ethnology, Harvard university, v. ix.)  
Bibliography: p. 211-279.  
A very important bibliographical contribution, listing over 700 different  
works, not including second editions. "It should be understood that the language  
in question is that dialect spoken in the peninsula of Yucatan and not the Maya  
linguistic stock which covers a far more extended area". The "Appraisal of  
works noted" (p. 139-207) is a most valuable feature.

291. Trelles, Carlos M. Biblioteca histórica cubana. t. 1- Matanzas, Impr. de J. F. Oliver, 1922.  
v. 1- ports.
292. ——— Estudio de la bibliografía cubana sobre la doctrina de Monroe. Habana, Imp. "El Siglo XX", 1922.  
234 p., 2 l.  
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293. ——— Noticias bibliográficas acerca del folklore cubano.  
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294. Udaonda, Enrique. Crónica histórica de la venerable Orden tercera de San Francisco en la República Argentina. Buenos Aires, S. de Amorrortu, 1920.  
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xxi, 296 p., 1 l.  
Bibliography, p. 293-296. The titles are for those who wish to pursue the subject beyond the volume here presented.  
Professor Carlos Castillo acted in an advisory capacity on doubtful points in the translation.
295. Valle, Rafael Heliodoro. La anexión de Centro America a México (documentos y escritos de 1821) Mexico, Publicaciones de la Secretaría de relaciones exteriores, 1924.  
v. 1- (Archivo histórico diplomático mexicano, no. 11-.)  
Bibliografía: p. lxiii-lxvii.
296. ——— Como era Iturbide. México, Impr. del Museo nacional de arqueología, historia y etnografía, 1922.  
115 p. port.  
Bibliografía: p. 35-114.
297. ——— El Convento de Tepetzotlán. México, Talleres gráficos del Museo de arqueología, historia y etnografía, 1924.  
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Includes bibliography.
298. ——— George Ephraim Squier (notas bio-bibliográficas).  
(In the Hispanic American historical review, vol. v (1922) p. 776-789.)  
With English translation.  
Cf. also Revista de Costa Rica, 1922, v. 3, p. 273-277.



299. Valverde y Maruri, Antonio L. *Elogio del Lic. José de Armas y Cárdenas* (Justo de Lara). Habana, Impr. "El Siglo XX", 1923.  
225 p., 1 l. ports., facsims.  
Bibliografía: p. 148-176.
300. Vázquez Santa-Ana, Higinio, and Granados, Juan Antonio. *Bocetos biográficos de hombres ilustres michoacanos*. Morelia, 1920.  
80 p.
301. Venezuela. Biblioteca nacional. *Boletín*. Num. 1-, Nov. 1923-Caracas, 1923-  
José E. Machado, director; contains much valuable bibliographical information.
302. ———. . . . *Catálogo de la sección de bibliografía nacional* . . . 24 de junio de 1921. Caracas, Imprenta nacional, 1921.  
66 p.  
Contents.—A. Obras de autores nacionales en el país o en el extranjero y de autores extranjeros impresas en el país.—B. Obras de autores extranjeros relativas a Venezuela.
303. Venezuela. Ministerio de hacienda. *Historical sketch of the fiscal life of Venezuela*. Caracas, Vargas lit. & print. off., 1925.  
xxiii, 168 p. plates, ports., tables.  
Bibliography, 1830-1894: p. 65-163.
304. Vera, Fortino Hipólito. *Escritores eclesiásticos de México, o Bibliografía histórica eclesiástica mexicana*. Amecameca, 1880.  
49 p.
305. Welch, M. *Bibliography on the climate of South America*. (Monthly weather review. Supp. no. 18, Washington, 1921. 42 p.)
306. Whitbeck, Ray Hughes. *Economic geography of South America*. New York, McGraw-Hill book co. inc., 1926.  
vii, 430 p.  
Includes bibliographies.
307. Williams, Edwin Bucher. *The life and dramatic works of Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda*. Philadelphia, 1924.  
116 p. (Publications of the University of Pennsylvania. Series in Romance languages and literatures, no. 11.)  
Bibliography: p. 114-116.

308. Williams, John H. Argentine international trade under inconvertible paper money, 1880-1900. Cambridge, Harvard university press, 1920.  
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309. Zambra, E. Biografías militares de generales del ejército argentino. Época moderna (1860-1894).  
Cited from Emilio Perrot's Catálogo, 1922.
310. Zavalía, Clodomiro. Historia de la Corte suprema de justicia de la República Argentina en relación con su modelo americano. Con biografías de sus miembros. Buenos Aires, "Casa J. Peuser", 1920.  
415 p.
311. Zinny, Antonio. Historia de los gobernantes de las provincias argentinas. Buenos Aires, L. J. Rosso y cía., 1900-21.  
5 v.
312. Zubiría y Campa, Luis. Bibliografía minera, geológica y mineralógica del estado de Durango.  
(In Memorias de la Sociedad científica "Antonio Alzate". México, 1919. t. 38, p. 177-198.)  
Extract from Aguilar y Santillán Bibl.

## HISPANIC AMERICAN GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS IN THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

The collection of Hispanic American government documents in the Library of Congress was established on a substantial basis soon after the actual inauguration of a system of exchange between the Government of the United States and those of foreign countries in 1874. Among the first of the Hispanic American countries to begin the exchange of official government publications with this country were the Argentine Republic, Brazil, Chile, and Mexico. From the beginning of this system of exchange, the Smithsonian Institution has been the exchange agent for this country, and the Library of Congress the official depository.

A more formal basis for this intergovernment exchange was furnished by the two conventions between the United States of America, Belgium, Brazil, Italy, Portugal, Servia, Spain, and Switzerland (first convention only), at Brussels on March 15, 1886. The first convention has reference to the exchange of official documents (both parliamentary and administrative) including "works executed by order and at the expense of the Governments", and the second to the immediate exchange of the official journals, parliamentary annals, and documents. In addition to Brazil, the following Hispanic American countries have adhered to these conventions, and communicated diplomatically with the Belgian Government: Argentine Republic (first convention, 1889), Dominican Republic (both conventions, 1923), Paraguay (first convention, 1889), and Uruguay (both conventions, 1889).

Nevertheless, arrangements for the exchange of official publications have been concluded by the United States of America with the remaining Hispanic American countries at various dates. A complete list of the countries with the name of each depository is as follows:

1. Argentine Republic: Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Buenos Aires.
2. Bolivia: Ministerio de Colonización y Agricultura, La Paz.
3. Brazil: Bibliotheca Nacional, Rio de Janeiro.
4. Buenos Aires (Province): Biblioteca de la Universidad Nacional de La Plata.

5. Chile: Biblioteca del Congreso Nacional, Santiago.
6. Colombia: Biblioteca Nacional, Bogotá.
7. Costa Rica: Oficina de Déposito y Canje Internacional de Publicaciones, Biblioteca Nacional, San José.
8. Cuba: Secretaría de Estado (Asuntos Generales y Canje Internacional), Havana.
9. Dominican Republic: Biblioteca del Senado, Santo Domingo.
10. Ecuador: Biblioteca Nacional, Quito.
11. Guatemala: Secretary of the Government, Guatemala.
12. Haiti: Secrétaire d'Etat des Relations Extérieures, Port-au-Prince.
13. Honduras: Secretary of the Government, Tegucigalpa.
14. Mexico: Biblioteca Nacional, México.
15. Nicaragua: Superintendente de Archivos Nacionales, Managua.
16. Panama: Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, Panamá.
17. Paraguay: Sección de Canje Internacional de Publicaciones del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Asunción.
18. Peru: Biblioteca Nacional, Lima.
19. Rio de Janeiro (State): Bibliotheca da Assembléa Legislativa do Estado, Nictheroy.
20. Salvador: Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, San Salvador.
21. Uruguay: Oficina de Canje Internacional de Publicaciones, Montevideo.
22. Venezuela: Biblioteca Nacional, Caracas.

The files of official gazettes and legislative proceedings constitute the outstanding feature of the collection of Hispanic American official documents developed at the Library of Congress under the supervision of the Division of Documents. From the brief checklist of official gazettes and legislative proceedings in the Library of Congress, appended, it will be apparent that the representation from the state and provincial governments is not particularly extensive in comparison with that from the national governments. Yet, the effort to make readily available in the United States at least one complete file of the official gazettes and of the legislative proceedings from each national government as well as from each state and provincial government, is made more difficult by the almost uniformly poor quality of paper used for these publications during recent years. Within two or three decades the sheets have frequently become so brittle that the documents can be consulted only with the greatest care.

In the endeavor to perfect the collection of Hispanic American government documents, the Library of Congress has frequently secured the coöperation of the Department of State, and on two occasions has sent a special representative to certain countries, first in



1915 and again in 1924. Also, the director of the Pan American Union during 1925 assisted the Library of Congress materially in securing the publications noted in a series of "want-lists".

Through a joint arrangement between the Library of Congress and the Department of Commerce in 1915, Dr. E. M. Borchard, then Law Librarian, made a trip lasting five months, during the course of which he visited the Argentine Republic, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Panama, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela. He obtained large collections of legal material and official documents. "Among the valuable items secured may be mentioned the series of volumes containing the proceedings of the arbitrations of a number of boundary disputes, early issues of legislative journals (especially those for Argentina), early volumes of official gazettes (particularly the Venezuela Gazette 1827-1869), long files of annual reports of ministries, and a large number of special monographs."<sup>1</sup>

The present law librarian, Mr. John T. Vance, Jr., made a trip to Mexico in 1924, visiting not only Mexico City, but the States of Nuevo León, Coahuila, San Luis Potosí, and Tamaulipas. He secured considerable material from the four states mentioned. During his stay in Mexico City, he was able to assist materially in completing our files, especially of the official gazette.

Coöperation in further perfecting the collection of Hispanic American government documents at the Library of Congress, especially official gazettes and legislative proceedings, will be most welcome.

JAMES B. CHILDS.

Washington, 1926.

#### OFFICIAL GAZETTES AND LEGISLATIVE PROCEEDINGS IN THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

##### ARGENTINE REPUBLIC

Gaceta de Buenos Aires (reprint), 1810 to 1821. Boletín oficial de la República Argentina. Old Series 1871,<sup>1</sup> 1872;<sup>2</sup> New Series, 1893,<sup>2</sup> 1894,<sup>2</sup> 1900 to date. Cámara de diputados. Diario de sesiones, 1854 to 1858, 1862 to 1866, 1868 to 1870, 1872 to date.

Cámara de senadores. Diario de sesiones, 1854, 1855, 1863 to 1883, 1885, 1887 to date.

<sup>1</sup> *Report of the Librarian of Congress . . . for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1916*, p. 55.

<sup>2</sup> Incomplete.

Buenos Aires (Province). Cámara de diputados. Sesiones, 1852 to 1860, 1866, 1868 to 1870, 1872, 1874, 1875, 1878.

———Cámara de senadores. Diario de sesiones, 1854, 1857, 1859, 1860, 1867, 1871, 1872, 1878, 1902 to 1915.

Jujuy (Province). Boletín oficial, 1913 to 1924.

Salta (Province). Registro oficial, 1874.

Santa Fé (Province). Registro oficial, 1885, 1886, 1888 to 1892, 1894, 1896 to 1898, 1900.

## BOLIVIA

Registro oficial (title varies), 1896,<sup>2</sup> 1900, 1903 to 1907,<sup>2</sup> 1911 to 1915; Gaceta oficial, 1924 to date.

Congreso nacional. Redactor, 1897, 1901 to 1914, 1921 to 1923. (Also, Sesiones, 1890.)

———Proyectos é informes, 1908-1909, 1911, 1912, 1914, 1921-1922.

Cámara de diputados. Cuadros sinoptico de los trabajos, 1893, 1895, 1900.

Proyectos de ley é informes de comisiones, 1891, 1896-1897, 1901 to 1903, 1905 to 1914, 1921, 1922.

Redactor, 1885, 1894, 1898, 1900 to 1914, 1916, 1921 to 1923.

Senado. Proyectos é informes del H. Senado nacional, 1895, 1896, 1900, 1902, 1903, 1905, 1907 to 1914, 1921, 1922.

———Redactor, 1885, 1890, 1897, 1900, 1901, 1903, 1904, 1906 to 1914, 1916, 1921 to 1923.

## BRAZIL

Diario oficial (title varies), 1831, 1835, 1836, 1900 to date.

Congresso. Diario do Congresso nacional (Suppl. to Diario oficial), 1900 to date.

Camara dos deputados. Annaes, 1826 to 1829, 1834, 1844 to 1853, 1855, 1857, 1858, 1860 to 1910.

———O Correio, 1831.

———Relatorio e synopse dos trabalhos, 1891 to 1914.

Senado. Annaes, 1826 to 1833, 1839, 1865 to 1889, 1891 to 1917.

Pernambuco (State). Diario do estado, 1924<sup>2</sup> to date.

Rio de Janeiro (State). Assembléa legislativa. Annaes, 1888, 1889, 1891 to 1916. (Also, Camara dos deputados, Annaes, 1891.)

São Paulo (State). Assembléa legislativa. Actas das sessões, 1862, 1868 to 1870; Annaes, 1879, 1882, 1887, 1889.

———Congresso legislativo. Annaes, 1891, 1901, 1905.

## CHILE

Gazeta ministerial, 1818 to 1823.<sup>2</sup>

Diario de documentos del gobierno, 1825,<sup>2</sup> 1826.<sup>2</sup>

Registro de documentos del gobierno, 1826, 1827.

El Araucano, 1830 to 1876.

Diario oficial, 1877 to date.

<sup>2</sup> Incomplete.

<sup>3</sup> Incomplete.

Congreso nacional. Sesiones, 1846 to 1849,<sup>3</sup> 1851 to 1853,<sup>3</sup> 1854 to 1860, 1862,<sup>3</sup> 1863,<sup>3</sup> 1864, 1865, 1896, 1901, 1906.

Congreso nacional. Sesiones de los cuerpos legislativos, 1811 to 1845. (Vol. 1-35, 1811-1844).

Cámara de diputados. Boletín de las sesiones, 1866 to 1880, 1887 to date.

Cámara de senadores; Boletín de las sesiones, 1864, 1866 to 1880, 1887 to 1913; Debates, Documentos parlamentarios, 1913 to 1917; Boletín de las sesiones, 1917 to date.

## COLOMBIA

Gaceta de Colombia, 1822,<sup>4</sup> 1823,<sup>4</sup> 1827,<sup>4</sup> 1829,<sup>4</sup> 1830,<sup>4</sup> 1831.<sup>4</sup>

Gaceta de la Nueva Granada, 1832 to 1838,<sup>4</sup> 1846,<sup>4</sup> 1851,<sup>4</sup> 1854 to 1860.<sup>4</sup>

Confederación Granadina. Gaceta oficial, 1861.<sup>4</sup>

Registro oficial, 1861 to 1864.<sup>4</sup>

Diario oficial, 1864,<sup>4</sup> 1865 to date.

Congreso. Anales, 1864,<sup>4</sup> 1890, 1891.

Asamblea nacional. Anales, 1906,<sup>4</sup> 1907 to 1909, 1910.<sup>4</sup>

Cámara de representantes. Anales, 1892, 1894, 1914 to 1915.<sup>4</sup>

Senado. Anales, 1909, 1911 to 1914,<sup>4</sup> 1915.

Atlántico (Dept.). Atlántico, 1923-24,<sup>4</sup> 1925 to date.

Santander (Dept.). Gaceta, 1922.

Tolima (Dept.). Registro oficial, 1898.

## COSTA RICA

La Gaceta. Diario oficial, 1877 to date.

## CUBA

Diario de la Habana (title varies), 1832-junio 1902; Gaceta oficial, julio 1902 to date.

Cámara de representantes. Diario de sesiones, 1902 to 1904, 1906, 1909 to 1911,<sup>4</sup> 1918.

Senado. Diario de sesiones, 1902 to 1916, 1917, 1921 to date.

Cámara de representantes.

———Memoria de los trabajos realizados, 1906 to 1911, 1913 to date.

———Memorial de los trabajos realizados, 1902 to 1906, 1909 to 1913.

## DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

Gaceta oficial, feb. 22, 1868 to mayo 14, 1870, 1884 to 1900, 1903,<sup>4</sup> 1904 to date.

## ECUADOR

Registro oficial, 1902 to 1904,<sup>4</sup> 1908, 1910 to 1913,<sup>4</sup> 1920 to date.

Cámara de los diputados. Anales, 1901 to 1903, 1908.<sup>5</sup>

———Diario de debates, 1911 to 1919, 1924.

<sup>3</sup> Incomplete.

<sup>4</sup> Incomplete.

<sup>5</sup> Incomplete.

Congreso. Actas de las sesiones del congreso pleno, 1909, 1911, 1913 to 1916.

Senado. Anales, 1902, 1903, 1905.

———Diario de debates, 1911 to 1919, 1924.

## GUATEMALA

Gaceta, 1830 to 1832, 1848 to 1871.

El Guatemalteco, 1889,<sup>s</sup> 1895,<sup>s</sup> 1896,<sup>s</sup> 1898,<sup>s</sup> 1899,<sup>s</sup> 1902,<sup>s</sup> 1905 to 1907,<sup>s</sup> 1907 to 1909, 1909 to 1910,<sup>s</sup> 1913 (jun-12 oct), 1911 to 1913,<sup>s</sup> 1913 to date.

Asamblea nacional legislativa. La Asamblea legislativa, 1 marzo-21 Mayo 1892.

## HAITI

Le Moniteur, 1862 to 1887, 1889 to 1892, 1895 to date.

## HONDURAS

El Nacional, periodico oficial, 1873.

La Gaceta, periodico oficial, 1895,<sup>s</sup> 1898 to 1922, 1923-1924,<sup>s</sup> 1925 to date.

Congreso nacional. Boletín legislativo (title varies), 1897 to 1922.

## MEXICO

Gazeta de Mexico, 1728 to 1739.

Gazetas de México, 1784 to 1809.

Gazeta del gobierno de Mexico, enero-julio 1810, 1811 to 1820.

Gazeta del gobierno imperial de Mexico, 1821 to marzo 1823.

Diario del gobierno supremo, abril-dic. 1823.

Gaceta del gobierno supremo, 1824.

Gaceta diaria de Mexico, 1825.<sup>s</sup>

Gaceta del gobierno supremo de la federación mexicana, 1826.<sup>s</sup>

El Boletín oficial, 1829.<sup>s</sup>

Registro oficial, 1830, 1831.

Diario del gobierno, 1832, 1833, 1835 to 1837,<sup>s</sup> 1838 to 1846, 1847.<sup>s</sup>

Diario del imperio, 1865 to 1867.

Diario oficial, 1846-47,<sup>s</sup> 1885,<sup>s</sup> 1887,<sup>s</sup> 1891,<sup>s</sup> 1897 to 1901,<sup>s</sup> 1902-Ag. 1914.

El constitucionalista (diario oficial), Dic. 1913-Dic. 1917.

Diario oficial, 1918 to date.

Congreso. Diario de los debates, 1873 to 1875, 1877.

Cámara de diputados. Diario de los debates, 1862 to 1863, 1867 to date.

Senado. Diario de los debates, 1875 to 1905, 1907 to date.

Aguascalientes (State). Labor libertaria, 1926.

Baja-California. Distrito Sur. (Territory). Boletín oficial, 1907 to Abr. 1914.

Chihuahua (State). Periódico oficial, Dic. 1913 to junio 1914, 1926.

Coahuila de Zaragoza (State). Periódico oficial, 1921 to 1923, 1924-1925,<sup>s</sup> 1926.

Colima (State). Periódico oficial, 1926.

Distrito Federal. Boletín oficial, julio 1903-junio 1913.

<sup>s</sup> Incomplete.

<sup>o</sup> Incomplete.



Durango (State). Periódico oficial, 1833,\* 1835,\* 1926.

Guerrero (State). Periódico oficial, 1903 to 1909,\* 1910, 1911 to 1913,\* 1926.

Jalisco (State). Gaceta, 1841,\* 1926.

———Congreso. Diario, 1827.\*

Michoacán (State). Periódico oficial, 1900 to 1902,\* 1903 to 1906, 1907 to 1909, 1911, 1912.\*

Nuevo León (State). Periódico oficial, 1910 to 1913, 1916,\* 1918 to 1923, 1924,\* 1926.\*

Puebla (State). Periódico oficial (title varies), abril 1824-abril 1826, mayo 1867-nov. 15, 1876, 1878-1898.

San Luis Potosí (State). Gaceta del gobierno, 1840-1841.\*

———La sombra de Zaragoza, 1867 to 1876.\*

———La Union Democratica, 1876 to 1885.

———Periódico oficial, 1886 to 1892,\* 1893, 1894 to 1900,\* 1901 to 1903,\* 1904, 1905 to 1919.\*

———Boletín oficial, 1920 to 1924.\*

Sinaloa (State). Periódico oficial, 1926.

Sonora (State). Boletín oficial, 1919 to 1922,† 1926.

Tabasco (State). Periódico oficial, 1906 to 1908,† 1924 to date.

Tamaulipas (State). Periódico oficial, 1926.

Vera Cruz-Llave (State). Gaceta oficial, 1926.

Yucatan (State). Diario oficial, 1909, 1910 to 1915,† 1916 to date.

Zacatecas (State). Gaceta oficial, 1829 to 1830,† 1833.†

#### NICARAGUA

La Gaceta. Diario oficial, 1903 to 1906,† 1909 to 1911,† 1912 to 1916,† 1917 to 1919,† 1920 to date.

Asamblea nacional constituyente. Boletín de la Asamblea, 1911.†

#### PANAMA

Gaceta oficial, 1876-1877, 1880, 1882 to 1884, 1886 to 1897, 1903-1904, 1906 to 1915, 1916 to 1918,† 1920 to date.

Asamblea nacional. Anales, 1914-15.

#### PARAGUAY

Diario oficial (title varies), 1890 to 1896,† 1901,† 1902 to 1904, 1906 to 1910,† 1912,† 1918,† 1919 to date.

(Replaced by a "Boletín oficial" for each ministry, 1913 to 1917†)

Congreso. Diario de sesiones, 1920-1921.

Cámara de senadores. Sesiones, 1894 to 1897.

Cámara de diputados. Sesiones, 1888 to 1889, 1894 to 1897.

#### PERU

El Peruano. Diario oficial (title varies), junio 1826 to feb. 1828, 1908 to 1910, 1911 to 1921,† 1922 to date.

\* Incomplete.

† Incomplete.

Congreso. Diario de los debates, 1899, 1903 to 1914, 1917, 1918.

Cámara de diputados. Diario de debates, 1874 to 1876, 1879, 1887 to 1889, 1891 to 1913, 1917 to 1919.

Cámara de senadores. Diario de debates, 1889 to 1890, 1898-1899, 1901 to 1915, 1917 to 1921.

## SALVADOR

Gaceta oficial, 1847 to 1862.

El Constitucional, 1864-1865.\*

Diario oficial, 1899 to 1900,\* 1902,\* 1903 to date.

Asamblea nacional legislativa. Resena de los labores, 1904.

## URUGUAY

Diario oficial, 1887,\* 1890,\* 1891, 1892\* ; New series, 1905 to date.

Asamblea general. Diario de sesiones, Vol. 1-13, 1830 to 1920. [Also (1) Actas de la H. Junta de representantes de la Provincia Oriental (años 1825-26-27), (2) Actas de la Asamblea general constituyente y legislativa, Vol. 1-2, 1828 to 1830, and (3) Asamblea de notables: Actas, 1846 to 1851.]

——— Poder legislativo. Sesiones publicadas en el "Diario oficial." Asamblea general, Cámara de senadores, Cámara de representantes, Comisión permanente. Vol. 1, 1909, to date.

Cámara de senadores. Diario de sesiones, Vol. 1, 1830, to date.

Cámara de representantes. Diario de sesiones, Vol. 1, 1858, to date.

Comision permanente. Diario de sesiones, Vol. 1-9, 11, 1831 to 1895, 1897 to 1905.

——— Memoria, 1874, 1879, 1892, 1897.

## VENEZUELA

Gaceta del gobierno, 1827 to 1830.\*

Gaceta de Venezuela, 1832 to 1855, 1856 to 1859.\*

Diario oficial, ag. 1859-marzo 1860.

Gaceta oficial, junio 1860-ag. 1861.\*

Registro oficial, 1862 to 1864.

Recopilación oficial, 1865 to 1868.

Gaceta federal, sept. 1868-nov. 1869.

Gaceta oficial, 1899 to 1909,\* 1910 to 1916, 1917 to 1920,\* 1921 to date.

Cámara de diputados. Diario de debates, 1910 to 1911,\* 1912 to 1917, 1919 to 1920, 1922 to date.

Cámara del senado. Diario de debates, 1910,\* 1911 to 1915, 1916, 1917, 1919, 1920,\* 1922 to date.

\* Incomplete.

## NOTES

Dr. Manoel de Oliveira Lima has compiled a bibliography of the books in the exhibit cases of the Ibero-American Library which is housed in the Catholic University of America. The bibliography, which is being printed in Belgium, will soon be available; and will furnish one more tool to the student. Among the titles are many of the highest importance for the history of Brazil and other South American countries. Dr. Oliveira Lima has appended to the bibliographical description much information that is new and indeed, not hitherto recorded in any work. These notes are some of the byway gatherings of an extremely busy life and the fruits of a prodigious memory. With the aid of his assistant, Miss Holmes (who aided him in the compilation of the work noted above), Dr. Oliveira Lima is compiling a bibliography of the titles of voyages and discovery in his library. The latter work will appear in several instalments of this REVIEW. Students of Brazilian history will rejoice to know that Dr. Oliveira Lima is writing his Memoirs.

Among the many and important cultural activities of the Mexican government the series, "Monografías bibliográficas mexicanas" must be given high rank on account of its peculiar value to students and bibliographers. This series is under the general editorial direction of Dr. Genaro Estrada. The following numbers have been examined by the present reviewer: I. *Bibliografía de Amado Nervo*, by Dr. Estrada. This full bibliography of the distinguished Mexican author includes and supplements the material previously noted in Dr. Estrada's *Poetas nuevos de México* (Mexico, 1916) and is arranged as follows: (1) Libros de Amado Nervo; (2) Publicaciones especiales sobre Nervo; (3) Estudios y opiniones sobre Nervo, publicados en libros, revistas y periódicos. II. *Bibliografía de novelistas mexicanos, ensayo biográfico, bibliográfico y crítico*, [por Juan B. Iguíñez] *precedido de un estudio histórico de la novela mexicana por Francisco Monterde García Icazbalceta*. This monumental work of over 450 pages is one of the most valuable contributions to the study of His-

panic American letters and is quite indispensable to the student of Mexican letters. III. *Bibliografía de cronistas de la ciudad de México*. IV. *Filigranoso marcas transparentes en papeles de Nueva España del siglo XVI*. By the courtesy of the Mexican government these monographs are being sent gratuitously to libraries and specialists in the United States.

C. K. JONES.

Professor Henry Grattan Doyle, of George Washington University, one of the ablest and most enthusiastic fomentors of Hispanic studies in this country, has published in the March number of the *Bulletin of the Pan American Union* (reprinted from *Bulletin of Spanish Studies*) an article entitled "Spanish studies in the United States", which is of distinct historical value to every person interested. In it he traces the development of the study of the Spanish language and literature from 1766—in which year there is record of a professor of French and Spanish at the University of Pennsylvania—up to the present time. I quote his final paragraph:

To recapitulate—Spanish was one of the first of the modern humanities to engage the attention of American scholars. It has given us some of our best remembered men of letters. American Hispanists have made substantial contributions to various fields. The study of Spanish in our schools and colleges is in a healthy state, and our teachers are displaying a social professional spirit. We are justified in expecting a continuance of popular interest in the subject, and a steadily increasing effectiveness in our teaching and research.

C. K. JONES.

It has been reported that the former Chargé d'Affaires of El Salvador in Madrid, Sr. D. Ismael Fuentes, has made, or caused to be made, extensive investigations in the archives of Madrid and Seville regarding the early history of Spanish colonization on this hemisphere, with special reference to Central America and El Salvador. Sr. Fuentes proposes to publish some twelve or fourteen volumes of over 400 pages each containing historical documents of importance, and has promised the Biblioteca Nacional in San Salvador a complete set of photostat copies of all documents relating to the early history of the territory which is now the Republic of El Salvador. It has been suggested that it may perhaps be possible to secure a duplicate set of the proposed collection of photostat copies for one of the public insti-



tutions of the United States where they could be made available to American historical research.

Mrs. Isabel Sharpe Shepard, formerly of Bogotá, Colombia, is compiling a biographical and bibliographical list of recent and contemporary writers of Spanish America.

A new edition of Dr. Samuel Guy Inman's *Problems in Pan Americanism* has been brought out (1925) by the George H. Doran company, of New York.

*La Obra Nacional*, by Honorio J. Senet, was issued by the Talleres Gráficos A Baiocco & C<sup>ia</sup>, Buenos Aires, in 1924. The first part of this interesting work (two vols, bound in one) is called "La Herencia moral de la Sociedad Argentina"; and the second, "Cimentando la República". Sr. Senet states in his preface that he was led to undertake the work because "a great part of the present generation has no spiritual connection with the Argentinian past which was so full of honor in its simplicity and of glory in its virtues." Many of the present generation know little of the sacrifices of the past, in the present rich and comfortable Argentina. The compiler hopes that this book—made up in its greater part of excerpts of past writers—will serve to inspire a greater patriotism in Argentina.

The *Manual de la Constitucion argentina*, by Joaquín V. Estrada (Buenos Aires, Angel Estrada y Cia.), which has recently passed through its eleventh edition, was written to serve as a text of civic instruction in secondary educational institutions in Argentina. The work contains a capital exposition of the Argentinian constitution.

That the great Sarmiento still has inspiration for his countrymen is evidenced by the edition of his *Facundo* published in Buenos Aires in 1925, by "La Cultura Argentina". The introduction by Joaquín V. González is excellent.

The *Códigos de la República Argentina*, published by the Casa Editora e Impresora Rodríguez Gils during the current year, contains in one single volume the following material: Constitution of the Argentine Nation; code of commerce; penal code; civil code; mining code; code of procedure in civil and commercial cases in Buenos Aires; organization of the courts of Buenos Aires; code of procedure in

criminal matters; code of civil and commercial procedure in the province of Buenos Aires; code of penal procedure in the province of Buenos Aires; rural code for national territories; rural code for the province of Buenos Aires; code of military justice; and code of procedure of the *contencioso-administración* of the province of Buenos Aires.

Dr. Herbert Eugene Bolton has recently completed his work on a four volume edition in English of Palou's *Noticias*. The work has an extensive introduction by Dr. Bolton which will enhance its value.

Dr. Charles E. Chapman, of the University of California, has sent to the publisher a book entitled *A History of the Cuban Republic: a Study in Hispanic American Politics*. Although dealing more especially with the relations of the United States and Cuba, the book has considerable to say about the United States-Caribbean relations in general.

Professor Fidelino de Figueiredo, whose interesting paper on Portuguese discoveries and explorations appears in this number of the REVIEW is a prodigious writer of history. He has to his credit the following books, a number of which have gone through two or three editions: *O Espirito historico*; *Historia da Critica Litteraria em Portugal*; *A Critica Litteraria como Sciencia*; *Historia da Litteratura Romantica*; *Historia da Litteratura Realista*; *Historia da Litteratura Classica*; *Caracteristicas da Litteratura Portuguesa*; *Estudos de Litteratura*, 4 vols; *Portugal nas guerras europeas*; *Como dirigi a Bibliotheca Nacional*; *Cartas de Menéndez y Pelayo a Garcia Peres*; *Epicurismos*; and *Torre de Babel*. Professor Figueiredo is also in charge of the *Revista de Historia*, which has run into 13 volumes, and many contributions thereto are from his pen.

The *Diario de Pernambuco* celebrated its first centenary on November 7th, 1925. It is the oldest paper in Hispanic America, the *Mercurio* of Santiago de Chile dating from 1826, and the *Jornal do Commercio* of Rio de Janeiro, from 1827. To commemorate that event, the *Diario de Pernambuco* published a large volume organized by Mr. Gilberto Freyre, its acting editor, containing substantial and interesting essays of a statistical as well as of a literary character on the evolution of the northeastern part of Brazil, the region over which the influence of the *Diario* mostly extends. Some of the essays are

excellent. Among them may be mentioned one by Fidelino de Figueiredo of Lisbon, on the Portuguese language in Brazil and intellectual relations between Portugal and Brazil; another by Gilberto Freyre on the regional spirit of the century beginning in 1825; and Odilon Nestor's study on the academic life of Pernambuco, where a faculty of law was created in 1827. Contributions from different authors cover the whole historical, economic, and cultural field.

MANOEL DE OLIVEIRA LIMA.

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Dr. Oliveira Lima, with becoming but unnecessary modesty neglected to state that he himself contributed an article to this centenary number, namely "Um seculo de Relações internacionaes (1825-1925)."

Gilberto Freyre, who will be remembered by readers of this REVIEW for his valuable article on the Brazil of a half century ago, and who is now the acting editor of the *Diario de Pernambuco* has on special request given the following note on the centenary:

*Noticia das Festas do Primeiro Centenario do "Diario de Pernambuco"*, Pernambuco, Brazil, is a book edited by *Diario de Pernambuco*, as a souvenir of the celebration that took place in Pernambuco and other parts of Brazil, on the occasion of the first centenary of that Brazilian daily. The book contains a vivid and accurate description of the solemn mass that was celebrated on that historic day, in the *Diario's* chapel by the archbishop of Olinda; of the reception that followed; of the brilliant ball on the night of November the seventh (at midnight dancers stopped for five minutes—a solemn homage of silence to the founder of the old daily, and his successors: Figueiroa and his son and Colonel Lyra).

The book contains also the congratulatory messages received by the *Diario de Pernambuco* from many important associations and representative personalities, among whom were the president of Brazil, the vice president, the ministers of the interior and of the treasury—the latter a former editor in chief of the *Diario*—the archbishop of Bahia, Charles E. Hughes, then secretary of state in the United States, the editors of *La Prensa* and *La Nación* of Buenos Aires, the *Washington Post*, and the *Philadelphia Ledger*; the presidents of the Brazilian Academy of Letters, the Catholic University of America, Harvard, and Columbia, the consuls of many European and American nations, and others.

The book is aptly illustrated by an interesting group of photographs showing some of the old rosewood furniture made in Pernambuco in colonial days, now owned by the *Diario*, and exhibited during the days of the celebration together with ancient porcelain dishes, Japanese vases, colonial silver candlesticks, and pictures of historic interest.

GILBERTO FREYRE.

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Mr. Freyre is continuing his study of the social life of old Brazil and it is hoped that other chapters will appear in this REVIEW. He is a pioneer in this field of study in Brazil and is opening up vast fields of information. He writes with a charm and force that make his pages alive. Mr. Freyre was a delegate to the recent Journalistic Congress which was held in the United States. He holds an A.M. degree from an educational institution of the United States.

Those interested in Cuban antiquities will do well to consult *Inscripciones Cubanas de los siglos XVI, XVII y XVIII*, by Dr. Manuel Perez-Beato, the second edition of which was published by Imprenta Artística "Comedia", Habana, in 1915. Dr. Perez-Beato was director of the interesting review *El Curioso Americano*, which unfortunately has ceased publication. He is a member of the Academia de la Historia of Cuba.

The Florida State Historical Society published in 1923 the translation of the *Memorial* written by Gonzalo Solís de Merás, the brother-in-law of the great adelantado of Florida, Pedro Menéndez de Avilés; and in 1925 the first volume of a series of *Colonial Records of Spanish Florida*, this volume consisting of letters and reports by governors and secular persons. Both volumes were translated and edited by Mrs. Jeannette Thurber Connor, the vice president of the Florida State Historical Society. Mrs. Connor will continue this work, and will in due course publish the most important of the Spanish documents of early Florida. Like the last named book, future volumes will present both Spanish and English translation, page for page. These books, both of which were made for the Society by the Yale University Press, under the direction of Carl Purington Rollins, will be reviewed in a future number of this REVIEW. The Society has also in press a third volume by Mrs. Connor; namely, a facsimile edition of the



Narrative of 1563 by Jean Ribaut, the French Huguenot who was put to death by Menéndez. This volume has, in addition to the facsimile, a biographical introduction by Mrs. Connor, an appendix on Charlesfort by A. S. Salley, Jr., of the South Carolina Historical Society, and a bibliographical list compiled by James A. Robertson. The Society is also bringing out a volume on *Florida Territorial Journalism*, by Professor James Owen Knauss, formerly of the Florida State College for Women, Tallahassee, Florida, now of the normal school at Kalamazoo, Michigan; and the Expedition to Florida by Luna y Arellano, 1559-1561, translated and edited, with an historical introduction, by Professor Herbert Ingram Priestley. This work, which is now in press, will present the documents both in the original Spanish and in English. Professor Arthur P. Whitaker, who has accepted the chair at Tallahassee, left vacant by Professor Knauss, is translating and editing a volume of documents showing the Spanish trade policy in Florida, and Miss Elizabeth Howard West, of Texas is to bring out a volume of the Panton Papers. Professor James A. Robertson has in course of compilation a bibliography of Florida, ending with the time of the transfer and after that date a checklist of Florida books and pamphlets. Through the generosity of Mr. John B. Stetson, Jr., now minister for the United States to Poland, the Florida State Historical Society has received from the Archivo de Indias in Seville about 75,000 photostat sheets of Florida documents, and this work is being continued. Investigations are being carried on in Seville by Miss Irene A. Wright. In addition to the photostats mentioned above, Mrs. Connor has some thousands of photostats in her own personal collection. The latter proposes, upon request, to bring out a special volume of Menéndez letters, reports, and memorials. She is writing also a volume on the missions of Florida.

Among the newer reviews of this country, whose field includes part of the old Spanish territory, is the *Florida Historical Society Quarterly*—the organ of the Florida Historical Society. As its name indicates, this well edited review concerns itself with the history of Florida, and all periods of that history. It is a new series, the old review of the society having lapsed some years ago. The editor of the revived organ, Julien C. Yonge, of Pensacola, is fairly steeped in the history of his state, especially the history since the transfer. He and his father, P. K. Yonge, possess one of the richest collections of

Floridiana in existence, and beyond doubt the best collection anywhere of Florida newspapers. Much of Davis's *Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida*, for instance, was written from notes taken in the Yonge collection. The early history of Florida, of course, is important largely because that province was held by Spain as a buffer state against English and French aggressions and as a safeguard to New Spain. Later, during the English occupation, Florida became a decided part of the western movement, and this was accentuated after the treaty of 1783. Mr. Yonge in his editing displays, together with a cogent style, a nice sense of language. The review should have a wide reading, for Florida is a most important and interesting region, in many more ways than because of its land deals.

All who have seen Dr. William R. Manning's three volumes, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States concerning the independence of the Latin American Nations* (published in 1925 by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace), will welcome the decision of the Endowment, with the consent of the Department of State, to continue the publication of materials in the Department relative to relations between the United States and Hispanic America, the new publication to cover the three decades 1831-1860, the two preceding decades being covered by the volumes already published. It is understood that the new materials, while of course continuing to include everything relating to the independence of these nations will also cover all other important Hispanic American affairs in which the United States has taken especial interest, and will probably fill about four volumes of the size of the series mentioned above. The new series, together with the three volumes of the independence period, will form the most important mass of materials for the study of the Hispanic American nations that has been given to the world. The work of selection and editing will continue to be done by Dr. Manning, so that the student is assured of the same care as that exercised in the first series and of the same scholarly thoroughness in the editing. It is hoped that the new volumes will be ready at the date projected, June, 1928, or earlier, if possible. It is understood that the Endowment has received requests for the translation of the first series into Spanish. This should be done, not only for that series, but for the new volumes as well, for the documents will tend to dissipate many misconceptions of the motives and acts of the government of the United States.

Dr. William Whatley Pierson, Jr., professor of history and government in the University of North Carolina, is about to bring out through the University of North Carolina Press, a revised and enlarged edition of his *Hispanic American History: a Syllabus*. This will be the third edition of this useful book, the other two having been copyrighted in 1916 and 1920 respectively. Not only have the former editions become exhausted, but Dr. Pierson wished to include in the forthcoming edition (which will be issued before this number of the REVIEW is printed) the latest obtainable materials and to present outlines touching the latest movements in Hispanic America. In its latest form the Syllabus emphasizes the Hispanic American countries as entities rather than as emanations of Europe. Hence, while the European background of the present countries is given ample space, the chief interest is made to center around the movement for independence and the growth of forms of government and institutions. The outlines have been carefully and logically developed and the readings chosen with discrimination. A review of this work will appear in the next number of the HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW.

The Archivo Histórico Diplomático Mexicano in Mexico is publishing a notable series of works dealing with Mexican history. Eighteen volumes have already been published, these being: No. 1. Antonio de la Peña y Reyes, *La diplomacia mexicana, pequeña revista histórica*, 1923; No. 2. Angel Núñez Ortega, *Noticia histórica de las relaciones políticas y comerciales entre México y el Japón, durante el siglo XVII*, 1923; No. 3. *Incidente diplomático con Inglaterra en 1843*, with preface by Antonio de la Peña y Reyes, 1923; No. 4. *Las relaciones entre México y Perú, La misión de Corpancho*, with an introduction by Genaro Estrada, 1923; No. 5. *El decreto de Colombia en honor de Juárez*, with a preface by Antonio de la Peña y Reyes, 1923; No. 6. *Personas que han tenido a su cargo la secretaría de relaciones exteriores desde 1821 hasta 1924*, 1924; No. 7. Lucas Alamán, *El reconocimiento de nuestra independencia por España y la unión de los países hispano-americanos*, with an introduction by Antonio de la Peña y Reyes, 1924; No. 8. *Don Manuel Eduardo de Gorostiza y la cuestión de Texas*, historical documents preceded by a biographical notice by Peña y Reyes, 1924; No. 9. *León XII y los países hispano-americanos*, with a preface by Peña y Reyes; No. 10. *Notas de Don*

*Juan Antonio de la Fuente, ministro de México cerca de Napoleón III*, with a notice by Peña y Reyes; No. 11. *La anexión de Centro América a México (documentos y escritos de 1821)* Tomo I, compiled by Rafael Heliodoro Valle, who wrote the preface; No. 12. *La concesión leese; recopilación de documentos oficiales seguida de un estudio crítico-histórico por Fernando Iglesias Calderón*, with notice by Peña y Reyes, 1924; No. 13. *El Tratado Mon-Almonte*, a collection of documents with an introduction by Peña y Reyes, 1925; No. 14. *El Dr. Vicente G. Quesada y sus trabajos diplomáticos sobre México*, 1925; No. 15. *Lord Aberdeen, Texas y California*, 1925; No. 16. *Diario de un escribiente de legación por Joaquín Moreno*, with an introduction by Genaro Estrada, 1925; No. 17. *Las relaciones diplomáticas de México con Sud-América*, a collection of documents with a preface by Jesús Gúzman y Raz Gúzman, 1925; No. 18. *El Barón Alleye de Cyprey y el Baño de las Delicias*, a collection of documents with an introduction by Peña y Reyes, 1926. This is in every way an admirable series. Its publication was undertaken in consequence of a decree of the secretary of Foreign Relations, of January 20, 1923. Genaro García, who is so well known in the United States, is the able director of the Archivo Histórico Diplomático Mexicano, and Antonio de la Peña y Reyes is in charge of diplomatic historical investigations in the same archives.



## RECENT PUBLICATIONS

### BOOKS

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